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REPORT

OF THE

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER

DEPENDENT PEOPLES

OCTOBER 14th, 15th AND 16th, 1914

PUBLISHED BY THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN
AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1914

TO THE READER:

Realizing that this report is sent mainly to busy men and women, the editor has tried to make quickly accessible portions that may be of special interest. A glance at the preface (p. 3) the Table of Contents (p. 4) and the list of members (p. 9) will give a general idea of the nature, scope and personnel of the Conference. The index will be found of service.

To insure accuracy in the records of the Conference, each individual or institution desiring to receive the Thirty-third Annual Report (1915) is respectfully asked to fill out and return the attached Blank.

.....191

Secretary, Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I (we) have received the Report of the Thirty-second Annual Conference, and desire to receive, when issued, the Report of the Thirty-third Conference (1915).

Name.....

Address.....

.....

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.....

Remarks and Suggestions:

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1914

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

THE PERMANENT CONFERENCE OFFICE

DANIEL SMILEY

H. C. PHILLIPS, *Secretary*
Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 14-16, 1914

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PREFACE

The first Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, was held in 1883, when Mr. Albert K. Smiley, a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, invited a number of persons to a meeting at Mohonk Lake to confer regarding the interests of the Indians. This was the first of a series of October conferences which have since been held annually. On the death of Mr. Smiley, in 1912, his brother, Mr. Daniel Smiley, succeeded him as host of the conferences.

Previous to 1904*, discussion was confined largely to Indian matters; that year, however, the scope of the Conference was definitely enlarged to include the peoples of the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and other insular dependencies of the United States. The Conference seeks to clarify public opinion on these great questions through free discussion by those having first-hand knowledge of existing conditions.

The thirty-second Conference was held in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, October 14, 15 and 16, 1914, on the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley who maintain a permanent office, in charge of the secretary, through which the annual conferences are arranged and a continuous correspondence conducted.

The management of the Conference, while providing opportunity for free discussion of matters not foreign to the purpose of the meeting, assumes no responsibility for individual opinions printed in this report.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference, and several thousand copies are mailed to individuals in public and private life, to libraries and to other institutions. Distribution of current reports is free to the limit of the edition, and libraries and public institutions can obtain back numbers without charge except for transportation. Applications for reports, and other correspondence, should be addressed to the Secretary of the Conference.

*The name of the Conference was changed in 1904 to "Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples," which in 1914 became "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples."

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PLATFORM

OF THE

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES, 1914

(The platform is the official utterance of the Conference and embodies only those principles on which the members unanimously agreed.—Ed.)

It is the chief concern of this Conference that our dependent peoples shall have so much, and only so much, of fostering care and protection, as shall assure their continuous progress toward self-government. We repose the greatest confidence in those agencies of education and religion which are engaged in cultivating the elements of personal character and intelligence upon which the hope of ultimate self-government must rest. We recognize also the educational value of experience in self-direction, and we desire that a dependent people should be left to their own resources and the ordinary course of civil government and human co-operation whenever such procedure shall not obviously incur the danger of individual and racial disaster.

INDIANS

It is evident that at certain points the dangers which threaten our Indian population are still so great as to call, not only for the maintenance of the governmental protection now afforded, but for a considerable increase of such protection. This is particularly the case where the property interests of the Indians, in money and in lands, are so great as to arouse the intense cupidity of powerful and unscrupulous foes, some of whom are white men while others are themselves of Indian blood.

Conditions in the State of Oklahoma, affecting particularly the Five Civilized Tribes, call for the closest scrutiny. In the event that the Oklahoma legislature shall fail to give early and adequate protection to these Indians, we see no alternative but that the Federal Government should resume full jurisdiction over all of the "restricted" Indians of that State.

The land suits begun by the Federal Government in the interest of the Indians of Oklahoma should be prosecuted, if neces-

sary, to the courts of last resort, to the end that the lands of the restricted allottees shall be preserved from spoliation and that as much as possible of that which has been wrongfully taken from the unrestricted allottees may be recovered.

It is now well known that the increasing use among the Indians of the mescal bean, or peyote, is demoralizing in the extreme. We recommend accordingly that the Federal prohibition of intoxicating liquors be extended to include this dangerous drug.

The codification of our laws relating to the Indians is a matter of vital importance. The Conference accordingly recommends the immediate adoption of the necessary measures to accomplish this end.

THE PHILIPPINES

The American people, having accepted the privilege and responsibility of fitting the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands for self-government, their undertaking should be prosecuted with conviction and fidelity, by Government officials, by teachers in the schools, and by teachers of religion, in order that a moral basis may be secured on which a stable government can rest. The desire for self-government on the part of the Filipino people is a legitimate and praiseworthy ambition. It should not only be encouraged but it should be coupled with the endeavor to cultivate the essential virtues of a self-governing people. The object of our Government should be, not so much to hasten the time when it may be freed from responsibilities, as to advance the time when the Philippine people shall be so fused in common purposes, a common language, common sentiments and ideas and character, that they shall be clearly competent to determine their future relations with the United States. It appears from the Jones bill, now under discussion, that in the view of the present Congress, as thus far indicated, a definite time cannot yet be fixed when this momentous question of the status of the Philippines shall be finally decided. It is a view with which this Conference is in full accord.

With all of the divergence of opinion in this country regarding our relations with the Philippines, there has been a manifest drift toward agreement on some of the main principles involved. The time seems opportune for urging that our national obligations toward the people of those islands be recognized as obligations of the whole body of the American people; that they be no longer treated as a question of party politics; and, that proposed legislation relating to the Philippines be considered from a non-partisan viewpoint. Such unusual procedure seems warranted by the magnitude of the national interests and interests of humanity which are involved in the Philippine situation.

We urge that congressional legislation on economic matters be

guided by the welfare of the Filipino people and not by the economic interests of groups of American people or of foreigners whether they be agriculturists, manufacturers, or consumers.

We recommend that under the present conditions of world-wide stagnation of commerce, which seriously affect the Philippine government, Congress extend all possible assistance to the work of the Philippine Bureaus of Science and Health.

This Conference records its gratification at the progress that has been made by the American Government in the Philippines in economic, scientific, agricultural, educational and political development. We assure the great body of official, educational, and religious workers in the Philippines of our hearty recognition of their devoted and efficient labors and our earnest desire that they may be given adequate facilities for their important tasks.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

The Conference believes that the interests of good administration in Indian affairs require faithful adherence to the merit system in the making of appointments and promotions in the public service, and that security of tenure should depend solely on the record of demonstrated efficiency, to the end that public office may in a larger measure offer a secure and honorable career to those whose integrity, ability, and force of character make good government possible.

In the Philippine service, also, we maintain that the merit system should be preserved in the letter and in the spirit, to the end that the governmental organization may become increasingly efficient. We urgently recommend that the transfer from time to time of competent members of the Philippine civil service to the civil service of the United States be facilitated.

In both services, the preparation of examination questions should be intrusted to competent persons only, who possess expert knowledge and judgment in the field to which the examination relates, to the end that such examinations shall be practical in character and adapted to test the fitness of applicants to perform intelligently and efficiently the duties of the positions to which they may be appointed.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

First Session

Wednesday, October 14th, 1914

The meeting was called to order at 9.45 A. M. by MR. DANIEL SMILEY, who, in greeting the Conference, said:

OPENING REMARKS BY MR. DANIEL SMILEY

At the opening of this Thirty-second Conference I wish to express to all present a most hearty greeting, a cordial welcome, and thanks for your interest in furthering the objects in view. It appears that most of the time of this Conference will be taken up with Indian matters and affairs in the Philippine Islands. There may be a little discussion of Alaska, but Porto Rico and Hawaii are just now so prosperous and content with their condition that they do not seem especially to need our care. A very considerable amount of time is given to religious work among the Indians, and I trust it will appear that the time has come when people of all denominations or of no denomination can work harmoniously together, solely for the good of the Indian, and sink the varying shades of doctrine into the obscurity which is becoming in followers of our meek and lowly Master.

I have been told that there are members of this Conference who have been asked to speak and have hesitated to do so for fear that they might be led into too frank statements and too vigorous language to suit the occasion! (Laughter.) To all such I wish to say in no uncertain terms that this Conference does not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the grain. The facts are wanted. If the facts are not pleasant to hear, there is so much more need of their being known. I might add that it is quite possible in our discussions that there will be criticism of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and it may be that some one has on his mind things that he feels ought to be said in reference to the Board, and he might have some hesitation because I happen to be a member. Now I was interest-

ed in these conferences many years before I became a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and I want this to be a place for free discussion, a chance for every one to say what he believes will best help on the cause of the Indian, and if the Board of Indian Commissioners gets a rap in the course of getting at the truth I will not feel bad one bit. I do not think any of the other members of the Board will be troubled if some one feels as though our actions ought to be criticised. And because I have asked the Chairman of our Board to preside at this morning's session, while the Chairman is not here, I am quite sure you need not feel any fear of him.

The Chairman of this Conference is the Hon. John J. Fitzgerald, Member of Congress from Brooklyn. He was, unfortunately, detained last evening by a very important engagement in New York and expects to be here sometime this morning. Meantime, I have asked Mr. Vaux to preside until Mr. Fitzgerald arrives. It gives me great pleasure to present to you HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR. Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR.

Mr. Smiley, it is a great honor and responsibility that you have conferred upon me this morning. I can only say that it was entirely unexpected and that I have brought no extemporaneous opening remarks in my pocket with which to tire your patience! (Laughter.) The program is necessarily a long one where interested people are really conferring, exchanging views and thoughts on the subjects which are dear and near to them. It is only by such interchange as that to which Mr. Smiley has referred that we can make progress in attaining the ends which we are all striving to accomplish,—the betterment, the improvement, the uplift of those whom we call the "dependent peoples."

MR. SMILEY announced the officers of the Conference, a list of whom will be found on page 2.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would seem as though this were a suitable time to hear from a gentleman who is always welcome when he appears on the platform, MR. WILLIAM L. BROWN of Washington, D. C., the Treasurer of the Conference.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER, MR. WILLIAM L. BROWN

For the information of those who may not know, I want to say just a word of explanation as to what the Conference needs in the way of a treasurer, and why there is a treasurer. It is only for the purpose of printing and distributing the report of the proceedings. Without that report the influence of the Conference might perhaps not extend very far beyond these walls and the people here present; but through the medium of the report, the discussions

here and the information that is gained may be spread indefinitely. That seems a fair responsibility to rest upon us, and one which we very gladly assume. Moreover, this is the only expense that we are permitted to assume while we remain here. The kind and generous hospitality of our hosts cares for all the rest, and the only return that we can make is our subscription to this publication fund, and that of course is a matter that appeals to us all.

The report is printed in an edition of about five thousand copies, and is sent to every member of the Conference, to public libraries, and to a very large free list.

Mr. Brown then presented for the year just closed a detailed report showing receipts of \$973.15, disbursements of an equal amount, and a deficit of \$12.36.

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR., *Acting Chairman*

The topic to which the balance of our morning session is devoted is "Present Conditions among the Five Civilized Tribes," "Civilized" being a rather misleading term in some respects.

The area in Eastern Oklahoma, which is allotted to the Five Civilized Tribes, comprises approximately 30,000 square miles or about two-thirds of the area of the state of Pennsylvania. The Five Tribes are the Cherokees, the Seminoles, the Creeks, the Choctaws and Chickasaws. On the rolls as prepared by the Dawes Commission, acting in pursuance of the Act of 1893, there are about 101,000 names. Of this number probably somewhere from twenty to twenty-five thousand, roughly speaking, would be classed as full-bloods, and probably one-third of the total number, or approximately 35,000, are in the restricted class. The remaining two-thirds have been considered capable of handling their own affairs without Governmental interference.

The problems that have been arising in connection with the management of Indian affairs, although we have been frequently told that the Indian problem is a thing of the past, have been changed, and nowhere have we had a better illustration of how those changes work than among the Five Civilized Tribes, for now instead of negotiating with the Indians as tribes or bands, in the main we have to deal with them as individuals, after the allotting of their lands in severalty. The result is that in the region under consideration, whereas there were in times past five parties to deal with, constituting the Five Civilized Tribes, now, if we take them all, 101,000 individuals have to be met with in Eastern Oklahoma, or, considering only the restricted class, 35,000 or 36,000. With the enormous wealth that has been developed in these lands—largely, coal, mineral, oil, and timber, as well as the value of these

lands for agricultural purposes—naturally the temptation to unscrupulous persons to defraud the Indians has been very great. And I wish to say that those opportunities are by no means a thing of the past and all the friends of the Indian who have turned their attention to Oklahoma have felt that the conditions there are such as to cause the gravest apprehension. Time and time again solicitous persons have called the attention of Government officials and the public to the dangers for the future, arguing from what had gone on in the past; but it has been only within the last two or three years that any considerable sentiment has been aroused on the subject. This probably has been crystallized by what is known as the Mott report, presented to the House of Representatives and other authorities in Washington a couple of years ago, and which showed in concrete form what it cost to administer the estates of minor Indians among the Creeks as compared with the expense of administering the estates of white minors similarly situated. In some cases of the administration of the estates of Indian minors the cost has been as high as seventy-five and eighty per cent of the total amount of the estate. The average cost to Indian estates was upwards of twenty per cent, whereas those of white minors had been taken care of for say three per cent. Naturally, such figures have awakened interest as to what could be done toward the proper protection of Indian minors. Under the Enabling Act, and other legislation, much of the work of looking after the Indians in Eastern Oklahoma had to be done by the state authorities, and, undoubtedly, in many instances, they were completely swamped by the volume of business there was to be taken care of in the local courts, so that it was often impossible for the judges to give that careful attention to problems coming before them which was necessary. You can imagine what would be the situation with us, if, for example, one-third of all our real estate were owned by minors and everything in connection with the management of one-third of all the real estate in our respective vicinities had to be done under the order of the court. A tremendous volume of business would have to be looked after. Unless the most effective safeguards were introduced, inevitably gross abuses would creep in as they have crept in in Oklahoma. In some instances they have gone beyond creeping and have begun to walk, and from walking advanced to running; hence it is that results have come about which we have all deplored. In many localities there has been considerable cooperation between the officers of the Indian Bureau and the state officials of Oklahoma to try to mend this situation. In other places there has not been such cooperation, there has been every difficulty thrown in the way of those who were desiring to protect the Indian, but this is an old story on the floor of this Conference, especially from an outsider. There is coming to be in Oklahoma itself, however, a very strong sentiment on this

subject. The good people of that State are waking up to what is a blot on its fair name, and are endeavoring to spur on their fellow citizens, who are lethargic or worse, to take action suited to the situation and commensurate with its gravity. It is a most hopeful sign that Oklahoma is being aroused. Such a movement from within the State must prove vastly more potent than anything brought about by external influences. (Applause.)

As the first speaker on this topic of the Conference, I would call on MR. HOBART HUSON, of Newalla, Oklahoma, formerly for six years Assistant Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the State of Oklahoma.

MR. HOBART HUSON: Because I would like to make extended remarks, explaining the situation in Oklahoma, it fills me with great regret to know that Nature has not endowed me with a speaking voice; consequently, I am going to ask the indulgence of this Conference, and suggest a deviation from one of its time-honored customs. Before making this request, however, I wish to say that Oklahoma is now in the midst of the most unique campaign ever waged in that State, of politics and sentiment.

We are waging a campaign to awaken the public conscience. The necessity for this is the open, flagrant robbery of the Indian minor children of Oklahoma. I wish also to emphasize in passing what our Chairman has told you, namely, that we have fully one-third of all the Indians of the United States within our borders.

Now, inasmuch as there are two speakers from Oklahoma today, and I am only representing my chief, the Commissioner of Charities of our State, I am going to ask permission of the Chairman to allow me to retire, because my voice absolutely cannot carry, and let Miss Barnard tell you the whole story herself. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: In pursuance of what Mr. Huson has said, the Chairman will next call on MISS KATE BARNARD, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of Oklahoma.

To those of us who in times past have attended the sessions of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Miss Barnard is not unknown as a speaker, and as one whose interest has been great in the subjects that have come before that Conference. What she has done in connection with the improvement of conditions in the penal institutions in Oklahoma has been very great. She has also come in contact with the Indians, and the Conference will be exceedingly glad to hear from Miss Barnard on that subject. (Applause.)

THE CRISIS IN OKLAHOMA INDIAN AFFAIRS; A CHALLENGE TO OUR NATIONAL HONOR.

ADDRESS BY MISS KATE BARNARD

My appearance before you today is the result of a tragedy in my own life. Born with a serious temperament, and unluckily, with ideals, I have tried to realize for humanity nobler standards of life and living, and for this I have been called a sentimental dreamer and my work has been wrecked and my ideals trampled in the dust.

In my youth I dreamed of a happy human existence for all who live upon this planet, of commonwealths and governments that are just, of happy human relationships based upon justice and love, of legislation that would prevent poverty at its source by insuring living wages and shortened hours for men, of laws enacted to reduce accidents, disease and crime, of education promoted through Child Labor and Compulsory Education laws, of decreasing poverty through free employment bureaus,—in short, the adoption of such legislation and the promotion of such public institutions, and other agencies, State and national, as would standardize upon a higher plane, life and living conditions for the poor.

With this idea in view, ten years ago I dedicated my life to God and consecrated all my efforts to the promotion of human progress. At that time I organized the United Charities of Oklahoma and made considerable progress in this work for the poor, but I was continually hampered by the lack of institutions and the need of laws for the care of the poor, and for the prevention of poverty and disease, and those other ills which afflict humanity in our age; so, I entered political life for the purpose of carrying out a definite political program involving such policies of state as would decrease poverty, disease and crime.

Day after day, month after month, and year after year, for seven years I have offered my Christian, prayerful efforts to God; I have labored earnestly to carry out this program, but my work is wrecked and my office is closed through the efforts of a band of self-seeking politicians who found my work impeding the progress of their own selfish aims.

I remember that two years ago, an idealist and dreamer passed out into eternity from this peaceful valley, and dying he bequeathed these happy hills to all who dream dreams and see visions of better conditions for mankind. It was Albert K. Smiley who said, as his soul passed into eternity: "I bequeath these peaceful hills and happy woodlands to be a beacon light for human progress, and a friendly shelter for all who labor in this cause."

And here, in the one-time home of Albert K. Smiley, dreamer and idealist, and here with the memory of that other Dreamer, who lived and died for his fellowmen, it seems fitting that here I should

bring the message of my own broken life and crushed efforts. It is something more than a message for the Indians I bring—it is a message for you and the childhood of the race,—it is a message to warn America,—it is a call to the moulders of public thought and the makers of public opinion of this Nation, to examine the conditions and standards of American politics today, and see whether or not this political condition is fit to bequeath to your own wife and child.

For, if it has come to pass in America that a girl may dedicate her noblest efforts to human service, and consecrate her life to God, and go into politics, praying over her work daily, and standardize her work until it is acknowledged to be scientific by the authorities of the world, only to have that work wrecked by gangs of politicians who find her impeding and imperilling their selfish aims,—this means something to the youth of this nation, who look on and see this thing done. Think you, these youth, observing the work of their elders, will not say, “It does not pay to give honest service to humanity, for look what has happened to Kate Barnard and her work in Oklahoma. There isn’t any use, it don’t pay.”

During the last ten years I have repeatedly visited our State educational institutions to counsel with our youth. I have taught them that life is short, that in a little while all who live must pass down into the silence together. I have taught them not to live for the things that gold can buy, but to fill their lives with service to their fellow-men, to write their epitaph in the grateful hearts of succeeding generations. I have plead with them to make the great object and purpose of their lives the promotion of human progress,—but now that they have seen my Department wrecked they will say, “It is not best to work or believe this way.” I do not know,—sometimes I feel I may have led the Oklahoma youth the wrong way. I cannot ask them to suffer what I have suffered down there,—I do not think I could face it again myself. I cannot ask them to have ten years of their consecrated efforts wrecked by politicians as mine has been. I am at that angle in the road of life where I feel more than ever the grave responsibility of directing American youth. Life has always a thorny pathway, but the question is, just how many thorns and thistles can a youth endure,—and what right has a Christian civilization to ask its youth to travel this straight and narrow way unless civilization itself has first done its duty by removing all the unnecessary thorns and thistles from youth’s highway?

But the direct cause for the wrecking of my Department was the work undertaken for the protection of the Indians of the State. We had made enemies when we took the children out of the mills and factories and got them into schools through the Child Labor and Compulsory Education laws. These laws made for us bitter enemies of the coal and railroad corporations, also those interested

in using the children in manufactories, but we were still able to maintain our integrity and keep our Department going until we stepped into this fight for the Indians of our State. It was then that all of our enemies massed themselves against us, and we went down to defeat.

In 1908, after we had been investigating and rectifying conditions in the penitentiaries, jails and hospitals for the insane, and the other institutions for defectives, dependents and delinquents of our State, we suddenly began to hear that the Indians were being robbed wholesale. I heard of three "wild" children in the woods near one of our cities. On investigating the matter I found three little children, sleeping in the hollow of an old dead tree, drinking from a nearby stream, and eating at neighboring farm-houses. Their hair was so matted that we had to cut it from their heads. No one knew to whom they belonged, and after six weeks of inquiry my attorney located their "guardian." He had been charging exorbitant prices for their schooling and other expenses, yet he himself did not know where the children were. Their parents were dead, and their "guardian" had fifty-one other children under his protecting care. We found that these children had valuable estates in the Glen Pool oil field, but their parents were dead and they had been permitted to live outdoors like animals, and to literally, as well as figuratively, run "wild." This opened our eyes. Later, we found scores of little Indian children in the State Orphans' Home. Upon inquiry we found that these too, had been robbed of their estates, and left to be cared for at the expense of our taxpayers. We instituted proceedings under the law, and their guardians immediately removed these children from our State institutions, and thereby from under my jurisdiction, for up to this time I had no jurisdiction over any child outside of the institutions of the State.

We then went into the Legislature, asking for a law making us the next friend to all orphans and minors, and after a battle royal which lasted sixty days and nights (we lobbied on that bill until twelve o'clock at night for many days) we secured the passage of that bill. It was vetoed by the Governor; then we managed to slip a "joker" into the appropriation bill, giving us an appropriation for "legal" work, which enabled us to secure the services of a lawyer, and with this one lawyer we instituted proceedings to have returned almost one million dollars in money and land to 1,380 Indian orphans. To add to the burden of this Indian situation, and the cause of some sinister motive—we know not what—enough power had been brought to bear upon the Oklahoma Delegation in Congress, so that in 1907 they demanded that the United States Government abdicate its jurisdiction over the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes and their estates, and that Congress vest this jurisdiction in the probate courts of Oklahoma. Just what they meant I cannot tell, because it is evident that any grafter or selfish

interest would prefer to meet the resistance of the little, insignificant efforts of a probate court in Oklahoma than to brave the authority and protection which the national Government insured. Personally, I would rather have the protection of the Federal court than a county court, wouldn't you? However, in 1907, the Oklahoma delegation in Congress demanded the removal of Federal jurisdiction, they voted for it and fought for it, and finally succeeded in getting the measure through. About that time they removed the restrictions from the lands of the Creek Indians, and within sixty days after that not an Indian had an acre of land or a dollar of money to show for it. This was along about the time that my Department got into the work. We did not know at that time what we now believe is a fact; namely, that a national conspiracy exists all the way from Oklahoma to Washington, to get rid of every individual who is in authority, and who is known to be friendly to the Indians, and having cleared the road from Oklahoma to Washington of every human agency that could protect the Indians, and having taken charge of all the offices and Governmental agencies maintained for the purpose of protecting the Indians, to then and there rob the 101,000 Indians of Oklahoma and leave them penniless paupers to be cared for by the taxpayers of this nation. I say, I believe this conspiracy exists and that we have the proof of it in the wrecking of the Department of Charities, which had been given authority over these Indians by special legislative act, and in the consolidation, since, of the two administration offices which have charge of Indian affairs in Eastern Oklahoma,—in the consolidation of these two extremely busy offices, and removing them from the civil service and placing them under political domination just on the eve of the payment of millions, and the settling up of their lands and estates. In pushing through the last Congress the bill for the consolidation of these administrative offices, they claimed, that "the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes are about closed up." This was their excuse—but let us see if their affairs are about closed up. There is still to be distributed \$836,000.00 to the Creeks, \$3,800,000.00 to Indian minors, \$800,000.00 to the Choctaws and Chickasaws; there are 470,000 acres of timber land, besides all the wealth of the Osages and Chickasaws, and 52,000 separate ledger accounts to be kept for 101,000 Indians,—and yet they put this bill through the last Congress consolidating the office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes with the Union Agency, and took these offices out from under the civil service, just on the eve of the payment of millions. And within a year from the time they wrecked the Department of Charities, one million dollars was paid to the Osages, and \$1,800,000.00 to the Creeks. Does this not look like a conspiracy?

It is the old story of the glitter of gold. There are twenty-five million dollars in cash to be paid out to the Indians of the Five

Civilized Tribes in the settling up of their estates. Of course, in fighting for such tremendous plunder as that, the Department of Charities of Oklahoma seemed an insignificant thing.

But returning to the work of my Department in Oklahoma and the fight that the Department of Charities is making for justice for these poor Red Men and their children, we found one Indian boy with valuable oil land. They wished to secure a lease, so they married this minor boy to a colored woman of bad character. The next day, finding that the marriage had been made in the wrong county, they took this boy over into another county and married him to another colored woman of equally questionable moral standing, and were then able to transfer his lease, giving him a "majority" title to same.

We prosecuted Democrats and Republicans, regardless of party, and made one Democrat give back \$33,000.00 in one day. Then some of the Democratic bosses sent me word that I was not true to the party, that this was against the tenets of Democracy, "because you are not true to the people who elected you." (Laughter.)

In one county we secured the evidence to compel the County Judge to resign. He had refused to admit my attorney to his court. The graft on Indians' estates in that county had become an institution. My attorney was in the room when the Judge resigned. This Judge was one of the biggest politicians in that county, and within five minutes after his resignation a shot rang through the window and whizzed over my attorney's head. At the time I was trying to get my bill through the Legislature giving me jurisdiction over the Indian orphans, the State Senator from this same county shook his fist at me from the floor of the Senate and stated that it wouldn't be safe for Kate Barnard to come down in his county, disrupting land titles and unsettling business. I sent him word at the time that I would "disrupt" all the land titles I could, for they were nothing but "fresh air" titles, as no value had been given in exchange for the land.

When they found I was determined to secure justice for these Indians, they had a meeting the summer before the Legislature met and decided that they must either control my Department or wreck it. I don't know why they should have taken this attitude, for the reason that my work is as much in the interest of the soul of the grafter as anything else,—it is an effort to prevent him from wrong doing and to save his soul from his own selfishness. (Applause.) But they had decided that they must get rid of me; the Department had become a menace.

Now, to digress for a moment and bring up the history of this fight. One, E. P. Hill, who once represented the Choctaw Indians in Washington, lost his position at the time we were making these general exposés. I do not know whether the Government found him guilty of something or not—but he lost his position and he

evidently blamed us. He and my attorney, Dr. Stolper, later on had a fist fight in the streets of McAlester. Hill then ran for the Legislature and was elected, and from the day the Legislature was organized he and the Speaker of the House, Mr. Maxey, started a fight on my attorney. Mr. Hill and his delegation had voted for Mr. Maxey to make him Speaker of the House. Since this fight had started on my attorney before any investigations were made, I felt there was prejudice in the matter, and I asked Dr. Stolper, "Are you right?" He replied: "I am." (Laughter.) I made up my mind, as my attorney was right I would stay with him in the fight, so we fought for six weeks and at the end of that time the telephone rang and a man on long distance, said: "Miss Kate, I want to be your attorney." I said, "There is no vacancy." He said, "You will not get any appropriation unless I am appointed your attorney." Previous to this I had been informed that as long as Dr. Stolper stayed in the office I would not receive a penny in appropriations from the Legislature. Dr. Stolper had then asked me to accept his resignation in order to save the Department. I did so, and put a man in his place by the name of Judge Lockdrige, a prominent member of the Young Mens' Christian Association. Judge Lockdrige has since been placed in the Chair of Sociology of the State University of Indiana. I told this to the applicant who was speaking to me over the long distance 'phone. I also told him that Judge Lockdrige had not lost a case, and that his work was thoroughly satisfactory in every way, and said, "I have no excuse for putting this man out." He answered: "Unless you appoint me you will get no appropriation." I said: "Come up and let me see you." It was a man with two small eyes set close together, a large forehead and a small, weak chin. Any man who can read human character knows what that means. (Laughter.)

This man said to me—and I know nothing of him except his own words: "Miss Kate, appoint me and I can stop the fight on your Department in twenty-four hours." I said, "What service have you performed for the Democratic party which makes you of more value than I?" He said, "I am the man who had charge of the election machinery in Muskogee, in the Haskell-Owen election, and I voted 800 more Democrats than there were Democrats in the town." Now, he wanted to be my attorney and fight graft! He saw nothing incongruous in basing his application on that kind of a proposition. I saw he was hopeless from my point of view, so I refused to appoint him in my office,—but before I refused him other things took place. I asked him how he could stop the fight on my Department in my Legislature. He said: "I married my wife out of Hill's home" (Hill was the identical representative in the Legislature who had trouble with my attorney Stolper).

As I said, I did not at first refuse to appoint this man; in fact, I made up my mind that if he could stop the fight in the Legis-

lature I would appoint him—until the end of the Legislature, and then drop him and place my old attorney back. With this idea in view, I told Montgomery (this was the name of the man who claimed he could stop the fight) to go ahead and stop it. That night he brought Mr. Maxey, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Mr. E. P. Hill, the same above referred to, and Mr. Wyand, another floor leader, to the parlor of the Lee Huckins Hotel, and these men promised, if I would appoint Montgomery, to take care of my Department in the Legislature. I asked them if they were in a position to speak for the whole Legislature and they assured me they were, (which was proven when I absolutely refused to appoint Frank Montgomery, by their ability to wreck the whole Department). I told them that Mr. Montgomery was a stranger to me, but they insisted that I appoint him. I told them then that I would, but they seemed suspicious and demanded that I sign a contract for a year. I then made the counter-demand that they give me a written recommendation for this man. They brought me the written recommendation the next morning. I took it immediately to the County Attorney to swear out information against these men, as it is a two-years' penitentiary offense to offer to swap votes on appropriation bills in return for the appointment of friends to office. The attorney said he was sure I had the law, and I answered, "Then arrest them on the floor of the House of Representatives tomorrow." The next morning I picked up the Daily Oklahoman expecting to find big headlines, "Maxey, Hill and Wyand Arrested on the Floor of the House." To my great surprise I saw nothing. I called up the County Attorney, and said, "What is the matter,—haven't you the law?" "Yes." "Haven't you the backbone?" "Yes." "Then what's the matter." He answered: "The business men of Oklahoma say they do not want anything done until they get the vote on the State Capital bill." At that time Oklahoma City and Muskogee were in a death struggle over the location of the State Capital. But I refused to appoint Frank Montgomery, and Maxey, Hill and Wyand made good their threat to handle the Fourth Legislature, for it left me without a dollar for office help, field help, stamps or telephone.

The grafters who wished the coal and lumber lands, and the oil and gas lands, had gotten together with those manufacturers who wished to repeal the Child Labor and Compulsory Education laws, and with their combined strength they were able to put the deal through. The Department of Charities of Oklahoma was wrecked,—the work I had prayed and struggled over for ten years was destroyed by a gang of politicians because they could not handle me for their graft. Then followed a period in which I almost lost my religion,—a time when I said: "There is no God; Chaos rules this world, Christianity is a snare which leads to nowhere but misery and pain. I shall work and pray no more. There is nothing but ruin for the Republic."

About this time a man came to my office from Washington, and I had yet to learn that God does not forsake those who labor in His cause. This man helped me secure funds from friends of the Indians. I am not at liberty to mention names, but with these funds I am today making a campaign all over the State, and I am running my office with its full force. (Applause.)

This is campaign year in Oklahoma, and, of course, the Democrats are having a battle with the Republicans for supremacy in the State, and no sooner had I secured funds and begun my fight than the Democrats came to me with an offer of a third term. They told me if I would run for office for a third term, they would see that I had no opposition. I told them I would not have the office and suffer the heartbreak and nervous strain again for twenty thousand a year. Then they tried to get rid of me in another way and one day a man representing one of the biggest interests of the State, offered me a position at Washington at \$5,000.00 a year for the next four years. I said: "What is it that you want me to do?" "Nothing, Kate, we know you would not play the game, but just stay out of Oklahoma politics,—that is all." I did not accept the position.

All this time the press was silent. Since then no reporter has come to my office for two years, although they have passed my door daily on their rounds to the other Departments of State. And now, when I go out over the State among the frontier towns, to tell this story, they tear down my bills and say I am "using Republican money to fight the Democrats." But I am not—I am organizing the people down there to protect themselves from the politicians. For this purpose I propose to maintain something new in politics; namely, a "People's Lobby." It will be composed of one lawyer, a stenographer and myself. I am going over every bill introduced into the Legislature to see if it contains "jokers" intended to kill the Child Labor or Compulsory Education laws, or any other of the people's laws.

If I am able to go ahead with my organizing, 7,000 men will act with me during the Legislature, and if necessary, they will convene simultaneously with the Legislature, and if we do not get what we want there will be no Democracy left in Oklahoma.

After they had wrecked the Department of Charities, they returned to Washington and put a bill through consolidating the two busiest offices in Oklahoma; namely, the Superintendency of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Union Agency. Said they: "The affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes are about closed up." Whether or not this is true is shown in the previous paragraph. Nevertheless, they consolidated them—took them from under the civil service, and placed them under a political appointee. They hoped to get President Wilson to appoint one of their friends, but I do not believe he will. (Applause.)

Now, why did they wreck the civil service at Washington, and wreck the Department of Charities in Oklahoma, and consolidate these busy offices and place them under political domination just on the eve of the payment of millions? Why are they trying to get their friends appointed in charge of these offices? Why did they reduce appropriations for district agents, whose duty it was to go into the homes of full-bloods and half-breeds and safeguard these helpless Indians and their lands, just on the eve of payment of vast sums of money? Does that mean any good? Will that help the Indians? I wonder if they realize that the God of Heaven will one day pass upon their acts!

This robbing of a race in its childhood makes our boasted Christianity a mockery, and a hypocritical farce. Can we permit this thing to go on in our American civilization?

They tried also to abolish the United States Board of Indian Commissioners,—a non-partisan, non-political Board which serves without pay—a board composed of ministers and philanthropists. Now what was the object of that? Was that for the good of the Indians? Some of us differ on this subject, and at one time I had my trunk packed ready to go to Washington and see the President. I am still ready when the time comes.

The next thing they did was to get rid of Mr. Mott, who was the faithful attorney of the Creeks. They did this over the protest of Moty Tiger, the chief of that nation. They claimed they wrecked the Department of Charities to save the people \$10,000.00, and at the same time they passed a law in Congress appropriating \$85,000.00 of the people's money for a political machine. This machine consisted of jurisdiction-less probate attorneys appointed by the Federal Government to "protect" the same Indians they had wrecked my Department to keep me from protecting.

These attorneys had no jurisdiction at the time they were appointed by the Federal Government. This, of course, made a farce of the whole situation. I was showing this fact up in my fight in Oklahoma. One month after I began my fight the Supreme Court of Oklahoma held a special session to pass rules of procedure for County Courts. These rules, effective July 15th, 1914, enabled the Federal probate attorneys to have some status in our courts, pending the next session of the Legislature. We began our fight some four weeks before this, so we have some results already. However, the rules of procedure of the Supreme Court will not be effective after the Legislature meets, and we are going to maintain the "People's Lobby" to see that they enact those rules of procedure in a law. Frank Montgomery was one of the first men appointed as probate attorney. This fact should be illuminating. Since then something interesting has happened. A loan of \$20,000.00 of an Indian minor's money has been placed on the Annex of the old Turner Hotel, which is a third-rate hotel in

a small town. This was in Montgomery's district, but I have heard of no protest.

The press is still silent, and I appeal to you to get a message into the big press of the world. I have a barrel of clippings from our home newspapers, printed prior to the beginning of my fight, in which they called me an "Angel of Mercy," and all kind of beautiful but impossible things, but since this wrecking of my Department, I have gone to them and begged them to help me to get this news to their readers, but not a word has appeared.

The reason is that the railroad and lumber men and coal operators, who want to gobble these Indian lands, are the big advertisers. Now, a newspaper lives on its advertisements. I have no money to advertise. We will never have freedom and liberty in America (to fight for our high ideals) until we have a free press, which is run at the expense of the Government,—so that it is not necessary for it to run at the expense of its advertisers, and, of course, cater to them. (Applause.)

War in Oklahoma,—that is what it is. If you want to see an interesting time, come down and attend my meetings, and spend a few days with me on the stump. I went into Muskogee and made my first fight on Maxey, Hill and Wyand. We had a perfect uproar, the wildest session I have ever known in Oklahoma politics, but I defeated these men. (Applause.)

What we are fighting for now is to control the Legislature, and we are organizing the State by counties. After every meeting, all kinds of men come up and sign their names to a paper. By that act they declare themselves willing to come to the Legislature and fight personally on this issue, and they are subscribing what I call, "the pennies of the poor"—not more than twenty-five or fifty cents apiece, because I want it to be a movement of the masses. We are going to compel the next Legislature to make an appropriation for the Department of Charities, which, as I have said, is now supported at the expense of Eastern philanthropists. We shall demand that the legal bureau of the Department of Charities be restored. There is a question of psychology in that request.

Probate attorneys, politically appointed, must from the very nature of their appointment, approach the Indian question from the standpoint of political expediency. On the other hand, the head of the Department of Charities is elected by the whole people of the State. That Department is under obligations to no one. The Department of Charities, therefore, approaches all questions from the standpoint of ethics and humanity. There is quite a difference. (Applause.)

Now, we want the legal bureau in the Department of Charities restored, and if it is not, we shall carry our fight to Washington and demand that the national Government take back its jurisdiction over these Indians. (Applause.)

If those probate attorneys are going to be maintained, we want them under the civil service,—we want to take Indian affairs out of politics.

The Indian affairs should be under a non-partisan, non-political management, a board of distinguished Americans of all parties and all religious faiths, clothed with authority, to pass upon everything that is done by politicians and to blue-pencil all bad work.

But the question at issue now is, whether, having stolen all this continent from the hapless Red Man, our American sense of honor will permit us to allow the destiny of a dying race to be bartered for gold. I say, are we going to be passive in this matter, and stand for the responsibility before God?

I led the State Democratic ticket in 1907, and again in 1911, by several thousand votes, and it cost me less than a hundred dollars for either campaign. Seven little children are named after me in Oklahoma, and two big, brick school houses have carved in the keystone of their main archways, the name of Kate Barnard. The National Encyclopaedia of American Biography, and Who's Who, carry an account of my work. I have written three planks in Oklahoma's Constitution, and Ambassador Bryce says of it, that it is "the finest document of human liberty written since the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of Switzerland." In spite of this, the Democrats are saying to me, "Kate, you are ruining your political future by this fight." My answer is: "I can't ruin it. The youth of Oklahoma, seeing the fight that I am making, will, when I am dead, take up the banner where I drop it and march upward toward the heights. No battle for justice was ever lost." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker in continuation of Miss Barnard's topic, is RIGHT REV. THEODORE PAYNE THURSTON, of Muskogee, Okla., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Eastern Oklahoma.

PROMOTION OF INDUSTRY AMONG THE INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA.

RT. REV. THEODORE PAYNE THURSTON, D.D.

I wish I had been put wise to the situation, so that I might have offered my time to the great speaker from Oklahoma. I have learned a thing or two in the recent years since I have been there.

Some travelling men were discussing their particular lines; one man said he was travelling down in that country and his particular product was boots and shoes; and he asked the other man what the general product of Oklahoma was, to which the reply was made, "Shoots and booze!" (Laughter.)

Now, I am a little afraid that one may get something of that idea from what has been said so graphically, so truthfully, and so forcefully. But I wish to show that Miss Barnard is not fighting this battle alone. Oklahoma has a population of 2,200,000; of that number, as you heard this morning, perhaps 120,000 are Indians; as Mr. Parker* says, they are citizens. Perhaps there are 150,000 negroes. The rest are white folks. The vast majority of us know that the forces of evil seem to be very much more ingenious, more assertive and subtle, than the forces which are working for righteousness. I have been in the State barely three and one-half years, but I know positively that the fundamental principles on which is based the cause which Miss Barnard represents, are going to win, because everywhere you are beginning to bring East our very best men and women from Oklahoma and other points—Mr. Frost, one of your speakers, for a number of years I have known very well and appreciate his great ability. They are stealing the good men and women away from Oklahoma, but there are lots of people going in there—the population has increased wonderfully in every little town and hamlet and village—and out on the reaches everywhere you will find some intelligent, educated, cultured people; they are the people who are going to fight these grafters that Miss Barnard has been presenting so forcefully and wonderfully. Miss Barnard is a great politician, as you can see, only she strikes right (applause) as some others do not, and she is going to win; that is, the State is going to win through her. (Applause.)

But my particular topic this morning is the promotion of industry among the Five Civilized Tribes, rather among the Indians of Oklahoma. There are two or three things that militate very strongly against the promotion of industry as such. In the first place, the major portion of the Indians in Eastern Oklahoma have very little incentive to work, either from the weather which is never very cold—it is sometimes a little warm in Oklahoma, we have a saying there current that in the summer sometimes it goes down to 100—which makes it a great cotton state. Furthermore, in Eastern Oklahoma,—and of that I am particularly speaking,—the Chairman reminded us there are about 101,000 Indians in the Five Civilized Tribes, of which number perhaps 35,000 are in the restricted classes, either full-bloods or half-bloods. There are many full-bloods in all the Five Civilized Tribes, on what might be called the edges of civilization, completely unrestricted. I have talked with the Indian field agents, and they have gone out with United States currency to pay the Indians their share of the quarterly payments, and the Indians have refused to take it; that refers to 160 acres of land which the Government has allotted to them hold-

*See Fifth Session—ED.

ing the rest in tribal relationship, to be sold later; they refused to take the title to their lands, saying the Government made the treaty that "as long as grass grows and water flows this land shall be ours," and adding, "We have made no agreement to abrogate that treaty, and refuse to accept either the land or your substitute for it, the money." That brings upon them the necessity of working to give themselves something wherewith both to clothe and feed themselves. They have not been trained very much to work in the sense in which we know it, and we know, too, there is no place in this world, particularly in this country, for any one who is not a producer. If a man will not work, neither shall he eat. But we have taken away the particular thing which the Indian seems to have been designed to do—we have cut up his land into little bits of squares which to him would be a good-sized backyard and he does not feel as though he had any incentive or opportunity to work. He has his 160 acres, to be sure, and if he has a pretty good-sized family they may, perhaps, have land either adjacent to him or near by, approximating 1,000 acres, but that does not pay him for the opportunity he used to have for herding his cattle and roaming over the land as originally. We have got to put some substitute in the mind of the individual for that which we have taken away, and it seems to me that it would be possible to get a "next friend," if you will permit that term, for each one of the 35,000 of the restricted classes—a kind of man or woman to whom these individuals might go for help, for discussion, for advice, for spur and incentive. The first thing is to create an incentive. The restricted classes, do not feel the downright necessity for work. Miss Barnard has already intimated that. There are the Creeks, with the House of Warriors and the House of Kings. At their meeting, which was held a few weeks ago, and which perhaps is their last meeting, there was distributed something like \$900 as a final payment to them which does not however, include the principal sum, I understand, which should eventually come to them. The Cherokees have practically gone out of existence as a tribe, so that really there seem to be only three Civilized Tribes left. On my way up here I happened to be on the train with a gentleman who has been connected with the Indian work for thirty-seven years and he told me it was his judgment that the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes could not be properly settled to the advantage of the Indians,—and that is the way it should be settled—to the advantage of the Indians—under twenty-five years. And here we are, consolidating the Indian agencies—the Union Agency in Muskogee, which has been under the head of a certain individual for a number of years and in whose care there are 101,000 individuals,—you know these things, but I tell you this because it is sometimes well to remind ourselves—and the office of the Indian Commissioner for the Five Civilized Tribes who looks after the tribal re-

lations. There is a million acres of land in some of the Indians' territory to be sold and that money will be given to the Indians. Now one of the most difficult things to understand is by what method of prestidigitation money, when it gets into the right hand of the Red Man, gets over into the right hand of the grafter, without anybody apparently seeing it put into the hand of the white man, and then it is gone and the poor Indian does not have it. Now we have got to stop that. I feel the great inadequacy of our means to do it.

It is absolutely essential for us to create in this race—I very much doubt whether it is a dying race, it has a virile force; the Indians have qualities that put the white man to shame; they have educative capacities in no sense second to ours, religious faculties in no sense second to ours—the incentive to do things, not simply for the purpose of doing things, but to bring real benefit to themselves as well as to the community in which they live. Out in what is called the Choctaw territory, for instance, there are sons and daughters of full-blood Indians who are being brought up in idleness. Their physical bodies and minds are all right, their hearts are all right. Their hands should be trained to do something that is useful. There is need to awaken the dormant life of these young people, though, of course, this work should not be for too long a period to begin with, but I think they would be able to stand the strain for from six to eight hours in a shop or mill, and if they could be taught some active, creative work, so that they could see the result, I think it would be of great benefit. It is absolutely essential that we reach these people. Perhaps there are eight or ten thousand schools that are doing almost nothing (although there are some schools which include it) along this line.

I say ditto and put an exclamation mark to everything that Miss Barnard has said in regard to the minors in the hands of so-called guardians; in so many instances they are not guardians, they are wolves, wolves! If we can create in the minds of the young people the desire to do something for their own self-preservation and give them some positive line of activity, I think we shall not have labored in vain. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from MR. A. N. FROST, of Lawrence, Mass., for the past six years at Muskogee, Oklahoma, as Special Assistant to the Attorney-General of the United States.

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

ADDRESS BY A. N. FROST, ESQ.

For the past six years, as Special Assistant to the Attorney-General, I have been in charge of what is known as the 30,000

Indian land suits in Oklahoma. The occasion calling forth these suits was the existence of thousands upon thousands of deeds which had been taken from the Indian allottees in Eastern Oklahoma, in violation of the restrictions against alienation imposed by the Acts of Congress and included in the various allotment agreements made with the several tribes. By an act effective July 27, 1908, which act also removed the restrictions upon certain classes of mixed-blood allottees and freed men, Congress authorized the bringing of these suits, making appropriations therefor. I assume one of the reasons for such authorization was that it would be a futile thing to give to an allottee the freedom of alienation when there existed already upon his title, deeds which he had given while restricted, and in order to make that removal of restriction effective, a matter of benefit to the allottee, some action must be taken by the Government in order that the slate might be wiped clean, and these illegal deeds stricken from the records and the allottee started right in his new freedom. It was a good deal like the proverbial "closing the stable door after the horse has been stolen." The short period of sixty days was allotted during which this vast number of suits must be filed upon data secured from examinations in the registries of deeds—a manifest impossibility. Needless to say, the sixty days expired before all these suits were brought. During July, 1908, and subsequent months down to November, 1909, there were instituted, on behalf of the allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes, some 29,000 suits, included in 301 bills in equity and grouped in accordance with the various restrictions against alienation and blood of the allottees whose lands were involved seeking decrees cancelling these illegal deeds and a delivery of the allotments described therein to the Indian owners. The suits were hotly contested from the very start. Demurrers were filed against the Government's bills, aimed not only at the right of the Government to appear on behalf of the allottees, but also attacking the construction of the bills themselves from a technical standpoint. The decree of the District Court, before whom the suits were first tried, was adverse to the Government's contentions. Immediately an appeal was taken by the Government to the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, where in a decision rendered by Judge Amidon, full of enunciations of principles of construction favorable to the Indians, the Government's contentions in its bills were completely sustained and the right of the United States to pursue this method of relief in its courts was fully and completely justified. Certain defendants immediately took an appeal from the decision of the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States, and after an extended hearing that court fully and completely sustained the Court of Appeals and upheld the Government in its contentions and forever set at rest the right of the United States in its own behalf in the per-

formance of its duty to the allottee to appear in its courts and endeavor to secure for him that measure of protection which it thought wise and proper for his welfare. In connection with that case was decided also the Mullen case, which case was a distinct blow at the protection which the Government was seeking to give to the particular class of allottees involved in that action; namely, the Choctaw and Chickasaw inherited cases. In this case it was decided that where the heir of a citizen had received an allotment which would have gone to his ancestor had the ancestor lived long enough to receive it, such heir was unrestricted as to such inherited land by virtue of the fact that Congress in the section of the agreement applicable thereto had failed to place upon this particular class of land restrictions against alienation. That phase of the litigation is gone. It is a final decree of the Supreme Court, and that class of cases has been wiped off from the slate.

Immediately the principle of law involved was seized upon by astute counsel for the defendants in the endeavor to apply it to the Creek and Cherokee nations. The Federal District Court of Eastern Oklahoma has, in certain cases presented to it, determined that that principle does apply to the Creeks and also the Cherokee nation. An appeal has been taken to the Court of Appeals from that decision to further test out the question, the Government seeking by every effort in its power to check and restrain the effect of the Supreme Court's decision upon the allottee and his land. The case was argued last May before the Court of Appeals at St. Paul, and the Government filed a brief of *amicus curae*, in support of its position on behalf of the allottee. No decision has been rendered so far as I have been informed. If that decision when rendered is contrary to the Government's contention, it is my urgent plea that the Government, the Department of Justice, still further try out the question by presenting it for a final determination by the Supreme Court of the United States. In addition to the trying out of these perplexing and important questions of alienation of which the foregoing is but one of many, the litigation has also been conducted upon the lines of settlement. During the period in which the litigation has been going on there have been terminated something over 11,000 cases: These cases have been ended in various ways and for various causes. Principally among such causes, and fully seventy-five per cent thereof, have been settled and determined by decrees of the court in favor of the United States restoring the lands to the allottees, and giving them possession of their lands in the absence of valid existing leases, and by the voluntary action of the defendants themselves in presenting to the Government counsel quitclaim deeds back to the allottee, thereby yielding up to the allottee all of the rights and interest which they have acquired by virtue of the illegal deeds taken. It is perfectly easy in the litigation as it exists to-day, full

as it is of possibilities for the welfare of the Indian, to take care of what is known as the restricted allottee.

The trouble with the act of Congress of the year 1908, in removing restrictions—and I declare to you that no greater wrong, probably unintentional so far as Congress was concerned, was ever perpetrated upon the incompetent Indian than that same removal of restrictions act—was that it removed restrictions from certain classes of Indians as a whole, thus declaring the competency of all Indians included therein. That many incompetent Indians were as a matter of fact within these classes is a matter of common knowledge and if this is true they needed, and the Government owed them, protection just as much as those left in the restricted classes. That there were also many in these unrestricted classes who were amply able to take care of themselves is also as much a matter of common knowledge as that there are many competent Indians in the now restricted classes. As to such the Government owes no duty of protection nor do such need it, and they should be allowed to speedily go their way freed from all supervision as rapidly as a determination of competency can be made. Competency and the need of supervision is a matter of individual determination, and the effect of reading competency into a specific class is easily shown by the disastrous results of this removal of restrictions act of 1908.

I want to draw the sharpest kind of a distinction between the real Indian needing Governmental protection because he is not able to take care of himself and the "near Indian," the Indian for effect only, who needs no such protection. With the latter I have no concern whatever, and to him my remarks do not have any application.

It is perfectly easy, as I say, to protect the full-blood Indian, the restricted allottee, as the result of the decisions of the courts up to the present time in the litigation in which I have been interested; it is the unrestricted allottee to-day who calls for action, whose cry for relief rings constantly in the ears of Government counsel as they have sought and sought again to find some method by which that relief could be granted, and, sad as it is to say it, in the main his patrimony is gone and there is little possibility left of recovering any of it for him. One possibility, as I see it, alone remains, and that possibility I wish to elaborate, because I wish earnestly to urge upon the Government that there shall be a complete testing of that last chance to fulfill its obligation, and that it be tested with absolutely no compromise, with no variance from the line of duty because of the exertion of any undue influence, politically or otherwise.

The now unrestricted allottees very generally made conveyances prior to the removal of the restrictions; under the decisions of the courts those prior deeds are absolutely illegal; the Government has the complete and absolute right to have these attempted convey-

ances cancelled, and, where no valid leases exist, to secure the possession of such lands for the allottees. Immediately subsequent to the removal of the restrictions act of 1908 a veritable Saturnalia of deed taking from the unrestricted allottees was carried on by the hungry land buyers, white, red and black. The man who had secured a prior deed from the now restricted allottees had the best chance to secure a new one, and he did so in thousands of cases. Many such were secured by Senator Owen of Oklahoma, or his agents for him. There are to-day pending in these bills 154 so-called cases against him for recovery of Indian lands, most of them involving restricted allottees and many now unrestricted. It is cases like the latter where I contend in proper cases there is a possibility to-day of securing back for the allottee, the unrestricted allottee, something of what was once his. Under the law a deed taken in pursuance of an illegal contract is as void as the illegal contract is, in the absence of a new and completely valid consideration. If the prior deed was invalid, if it was a violation of the restrictions against alienation imposed by an act of Congress and therefore totally and completely void, and if that subsequent deed was made in pursuance and in furtherance of that invalid contract, then it is my firm belief that the second deed is as totally and absolutely invalid as the first. Involved in this proposition is necessarily the question of adequacy of consideration. Using the unrestricted Owen cases again solely as an illustration, I do not know whether an adequate consideration was paid or not, though an attempt was made to secure from him the necessary information to determine it without success. If such was paid, of course, in his as in all other similar cases no further action ought to be taken by the Government. I presented this proposition of law to the court; the court said, "That may be so; you may be right in the principle of law which you have stated, but the Government itself, the allottee being unrestricted, is without any power to bring a suit on his behalf to have that second deed cancelled." I urged upon the department an authorization to appeal from the decision of the court for the reason that a remedy left to the volition of the incompetent allottee is no remedy at all. Up to the time of my ceasing to be connected with the work in Oklahoma no appeal had been authorized. I do not know why. I believe firmly that this is the one and only way by which the unrestricted allottee may be saved in a measure from the ruthless dispossession of his lands which has taken place, and I say that it would be a sorry day when through political influence, by persuasion of interested parties, or from influence from any other motive, such a possibility for restitution and righting of wrongs should be allowed to lapse untested and untried. It is important enough to attempt the results which may be achieved under such a state of facts. They are sufficiently big with possibilities to warrant the cost, and I urge and plead that there

shall be some further action along these lines or any other upon the part of the United States Government to fulfil in a measure, where it seems reasonably possible, its duty and promise to this class of allottees. I have not time to go into another matter. I shall simply mention it,—the matter of leasing, which has been presented to this audience more than once. In the original agreements the allottees were allowed to lease for a period of five years their surplus lands—a seemingly beneficial proposition. As a matter of fact, a single relaxation, like that, small as it was, of the supervision and control by the United States Government has caused widespread, ineffaceable wrong and stands to-day as a complete barrier against the power of the Government in securing even for the restricted allottee the measure of remedy which it ought to have. Immediately upon securing the cancellation of deeds as to which we had the right, or securing from a defendant a quitclaim deed to the allottee, when we asked for the possession of the lands, we were confronted with the fact that an existing valid lease appeared of record and the consideration for that lease many, many times was nothing more than the slight amount which was given at the time the original deed was taken. Action upon the part of Congress should be urged that this grave situation should be changed, that a measure should be adopted whereby the restricted allottee should be placed under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior in the matter of this dispossession of his lands by lease as important to the allottee, considering his present needs, as the severing of the fee itself.

A word in conclusion. It seems evident that there has been of late upon the part of the Washington departments dealing with Indian affairs a susceptibility to political influence in connection with Indian matters. I want to lift my voice in emphatic protest against the introduction of the spoils system into Indian activities. As an illustration—Mr. Mott, than whom there was no more faithful servant of the Indian people and who has accomplished wonders in their behalf in the matter of minors' estates, was removed; he was replaced by Judge Allen as counsel for the Creek tribe of Indians. At the time there were in the litigation I conducted some sixty odd cases to cancel deeds taken by him personally or by a company in which he was interested from members of the Creek tribe of which he was appointed counsel. Mr. Owen, the United States Senator, as I have said before, is involved in some 154 cases, covering full-blood and mixed-blood lands, taken from the Cherokee people. In charge of the litigation has been placed an official commonly reputed to be a personal appointee of Senator Owen, the United States attorney who was at one time himself a defendant in the suits. I do not mean by this to imply that any one or all of these gentlemen have not or will accomplish much good for these people, but I do wish to contend most emphatically for the utmost

singleness of purpose and freedom from all possible entanglements which might even unconsciously warp judgment in the men selected to deal with these and all Indian matters. I cite these illustrations, not for the purpose of striking at anybody in high places. It is farthest from my thoughts and I sincerely wish for them all the highest degree of success in their efforts in behalf of the Indian. What I have said with reference to them is true to an all too great a degree of many other men of prominence in Oklahoma. I wish to repeat that there should be selected in connection with the litigation, in connection with all Indian affairs in the state of Oklahoma, men absolutely free from all suspicion of influence, of any kind, in order that their efforts and their work may be devoted, singly and solely, to that which will benefit the Indian allottee; and in this connection I want to say, too, that no man ever had associated with him in public work a more loyal, efficient and devoted set of men than it has been my privilege to have had in the years of my activity in Indian matters in Oklahoma. I am not among those who decry the people of the State of Oklahoma as a whole; I have lived among that people for a period of six years; I have learned to love and respect them, and to admire their enterprise and spirit of progress amid necessarily adverse circumstances, not a little of which was caused by the work I was engaged in, necessary as I believe it was.

Arouse the citizenship of Oklahoma as you would the citizens of the state of New York or of my own state of Massachusetts, and you will find that it is composed of the same class and type of men, ready to respond at once to the call of duty to suppress wrong. That there exists the other class is beyond question, just as it exists elsewhere. The existence of the conditions which called forth the litigation is proof of this; but, mark you, since the institution of these suits, and as a consequence thereof, because of the work of the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the administration of their offices and in connection with these suits, a much better feeling has existed among the citizens of Oklahoma, and today you will find that except among such as have heretofore taken widespread and universally of these lands and are therefore interested personally there are many who deprecate the wrongs as much as you or I.

Another wrong impression I want to attempt to correct. In consequence of the litigation and other causes, among them too much generality in the discussion of these matters, statements have been made that titles in Eastern Oklahoma are unsafe. Based upon my years of experience in connection with this work, necessitating the reviewing of more titles probably than ordinarily falls to the lot of any one man, I confidently make the assertion that nowhere in the United States can there be found any better titles than those in Eastern Oklahoma, once they have been properly acquired.

I have but touched the surface of the many legal phases of the situation which have come under my observation. Many, many more could be spoken of equally important with those mentioned, notably the situation with reference to the approval of full-blood heir deeds by the probate courts as to which we have been able to work out a method for partial relief, the necessity for which, while I am very glad to say is not now nearly so great, yet does exist with reference to the early approvals authorized by this also grave error made by Congress in passing the removal of restrictions act in 1908. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The general topic of the morning is now open to the Conference for discussion.

MR. J. WESTON ALLEN, Boston: This is not the first time we have heard of the conditions in Oklahoma. It was some two years ago that Mr. Vaux went out there and came back to this Conference, sounding the alarm in regard to the conditions that he found there. A year ago last March, it was my pleasure to be with Mr. Moorehead, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, during an investigation covering the Five Tribes, and at the Conference last year he told again of the conditions that existed there. We heard a few years ago from Mr. Gresham, who was the attorney appointed by the Department of Justice to stop the crimes among the Seminoles, of his experiences, and we have heard repeatedly from that splendid public servant and friend of the Indian, Superintendent Kelsey, and from Mr. Wright, the Commissioner of the Five Tribes, of their work there, and of the obstacles they have to meet. We have also heard of Mr. Mott's work, for it was Mr. Mott who sounded the first clarion call that reached Washington and forced the conditions on the attention of Congress.

Today the future of the Indian in Oklahoma hangs in the balance. Since this Conference adjourned last year Mr. Gresham has been called upon to lay down the splendid work he was doing. We know that Mr. Kelsey and Mr. Wright, through the concerted action of the Oklahoma delegation in Washington, have been legislated out of office. Their two offices have been eliminated, and a new office created outside the civil service which can be held by a political appointee. The men in Washington who are working to secure, as they say, the advancement of Oklahoma by opening up more of the Indian lands for the occupation of the whites, have thus far seemed to succeed. They have been making progress, as they believe, since a year ago, and have certainly succeeded in removing from their path those officials who were most active in protecting the Indian, but I asked Miss Barnard last night why it was that the really good people of Oklahoma permitted this thing to go on, and she said to me it was because they do not know, and she further said, "It is because I cannot get the papers of Oklahoma to tell the

people the real situation, but, as I go from place to place throughout that state, my manager calls up the farmers on the telephone for miles around, and tells them I am coming to speak to them, and these people come in crowds to hear me, and I tell them the truth about these Indian wrongs and I can tell by the glint in their eyes that they are determined to see that justice is done, now that they do know the real situation." Although the leaders in the Oklahoma struggle in behalf of the Indian have been legislated out of service (except Mr. Kelsey, who is holding on by a sixty-day appointment) and it looks as though the line was being driven back, it is not the first time that a Jeanne d'Arc has snatched up the banner in the hour of defeat and carried it forward to renewed triumphs by waking up her countrymen (applause) to new ideals of national honor, and I hope what Miss Barnard is trying to do and is doing may be crowned with success. (Applause.)

MISS ANNA L. DAWES of Pittsfield, Mass.: There is one feature of this situation that has not been brought out, and as I see a good many people here who are new members of this Conference. I think possibly it would be a little clearer if stated again, even though it is a twice-told tale to a great many people. The men who are grafting the Indians in Oklahoma are, many of them, Indians themselves. It is hardly understood, I think, that all the vice is not confined to the white blood any more than all the virtue. The inhabitants of Oklahoma are of a good many kinds. The Five Civilized Tribes, for the most part, are persons who are Indian only in name and blood. These are the half-breeds, who were grafters in the Indian Territory twenty years ago, and who still appear; there are only a very small proportion of full-bloods. Western Oklahoma was mostly settled from Iowa and North Dakota and the states of which we are most proud. And there are also a vast number of Southerners and other inhabitants who have come in since the breaking up of the tribes. In this motley collection since 1893 to this day, the half-breed Indian, the quarter-breed Indian, the thirty-second breed Indian, is quite as much in evidence in furthering these corrupt conditions and was quite as much to blame as anybody in obliging the United States to change the conditions of Oklahoma. I do not think we can understand how the Indian is being grafted unless we understand that in large measure it is his own brothers who are doing the deed. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: In connection with this I recollect well, when I was at Oklahoma two and one-half years ago, an old Indian said to me that when an Indian died there were two buzzards who were hovering around his body, waiting to get the first nip of flesh, that one was a red buzzard and the other was a white buzzard.

REV. R. D. HALL, of New York: I am now coming straight to the crux of this problem and I speak from an experience from childhood up, for I have been right in the Indian country all my life, and worked there. The blame for the present rests on Christianity. We have not grasped the proposition in earnest as Christian people of America, and prepared the Indian to meet the present situation. The survival of the fittest is inevitable, and I am sorry to say it, for it means suffering for many of the people whom we love, and Oklahoma, by force of circumstances, is going to be among the first to suffer in this readjustment. State or federal legislation is good as far as it goes, but it cannot save the Indian; we cannot legislate for the poorest without harming the best. The difficulty is, we are trying to save the *poor* Indian from his predicament, and by legislation pertaining to the mass, vitiate the manhood of the competent Indian. The Indian most needs individual treatment to-day. This comes right back to Christian America; if we had supported the Indian mission schools and made the work of the missionaries effective, as we should have done in the last twenty-five years, we would not be facing the serious conditions of today. Every year we come to this Conference, and officials who were high last year are down this year, and those who took a patriotic stand last year are those whom we suspicion this year. I do not believe it is fair for us as Christian Americans to look to legislation or to "the Government" to meet a situation that is inevitable, and for which the primary responsibility rests with us. The Indian has to stand on his own feet and will not work until he is forced to work by the circumstances which made our forefathers work—necessity. I appeal to Christian America to come forward and stand behind their missions and those who are forming Christian *character*, and shoulder their burden. (Applause.)

REV. JAMES M. BRUCE, of New York: I was interested in the point which Miss Dawes brought to notice. I think it is one to which our attention should have been called, but ought we not to ask ourselves who made the Indians grafters, who taught them the tricks of the modern and the white grafter? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Will some one answer Mr. Bruce?

REV. R. D. HALL: The first attempt was made by traders to destroy the home that he first built outside the palisade. Lyman D. Sperry, whom some of you know, was sent up there, and his reputation was nearly ruined and he almost had to come away under disgrace; the Indian was in contact with that man; he and his wife stayed for fifteen years in that group of Indians and did all in their power to protect them against the great traders clear up and down that river. I am not condemning all traders,—there are some fine characters,—but the average frontiersman went out

and taught the Indians how to contend with the traders who came in large numbers. We sent out only one man to counteract their influence. (Applause.)

MRS. WALTER C. ROE of Colony, Okla.: Miss Barnard's talk this morning has gone to my very heart. I am an Oklahoma woman, giving my life, as my husband gave his, to the service of the American Indian. I have heard what Miss Barnard has said with great interest. She has complained that it is impossible for her to get the papers of Oklahoma to publish what she needs to have published. Is there no way by which the Christian sentiment of this body can make this possible? This voice which has been raised here in behalf of high ideals, and for mercy, and for justice, should go to every listening man and woman in all this land. Can we not multiply her voice in some way by a publication which will give her utterance, and make it possible for her to reach the thousands who are not privileged, as we are, to hear this story from her own lips? (Applause.)

MR. JOHN M. OSKISON, of Collier's Weekly, New York: I am in fairly close touch with the magazine publications of the country, though I do not know much about the newspapers of Oklahoma, because I came away quite a long time ago. From what I know of them, I should say the national publications won't give publicity to that kind of a story because their subscribers have said to them, through every avenue they could command, that they are against "muck-raking." Miss Barnard is a muck-raker, one of the purest and finest types we have ever developed. That is the reason why she cannot get publicity for her story. I have talked this very Oklahoma situation over with some of the magazine editors. They have been interested, but their final decision has been put something like this: "There are a great many wrongs in this world that need to be corrected, a great many more important than the Oklahoma situation; we can give only a limited amount of space to the correction of wrongs; and anyway, the correction of wrongs is not popular any more, so what can we do?" If Miss Barnard had told you the whole story of why the Oklahoma newspapers did not publish her story, it would have involved the names of some whom even you would not like to have mentioned. Very briefly and bluntly, it is a muck-raking story, and we have got past the period of muck-raking. (Applause.)

MISS BARNARD: I know the reason why one of the Oklahoma papers will not discuss this Indian question, as it is current news in Oklahoma that \$40,000.00 of the money from one Indian orphan's estate was used to buy worthless stock in this newspaper. It is, therefore, obvious that this paper will have nothing to say about my work.

In regard to the removal of attorney Mott, I want to say he was removed from Creek County, and perhaps it is significant, since in this county the largest oil wells have been discovered—wells flowing from 5,000 to 8,000 barrels a day. It was the glitter of gold that put the light out of men's souls and covered them in darkness temporarily, while they removed attorney Mott from the Creek Nation.

Now, speaking about Indians being robbed. It seems to me the greatest thing of which the Indian has been robbed, after all, is his faith in his fellowman. We cannot compute that in dollars and cents. I know this from my own tragic experience, for of all that I have suffered in public life, the worst was during the time when I almost lost my religious faith over the wrecking of the Department of Charities, and I am sure that the greatest wrongs of the Indian lie in his loss of faith in us.

Our school histories teach us that when the first white men visited America, the Indians believed them to be angels coming down from Heaven in white boats. That is what the Indian *thought* of us then—what does the Indian *know* of us today? What they know of us today is a tragedy in the light of our professed civilization. A splendid young man has just spoken beautifully, making a greater plea for Christian effort with the Indian—but we need to begin with ourselves. The white race must first practise what it would preach to the red race. (Applause.)

HON. WARREN K. MOOREHEAD, of Andover, Mass.: I am aware a few of the people from Oklahoma who are here may not entirely agree with me, but I shall avail myself of Mr. Smiley's permission to speak frankly. The past few months I have spent in searching through Government statistics, and I ran across some interesting things. The Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes had as many acres under cultivation in 1871 to 1878 as at the present time. That brings up to my mind a certain theory, and dovetailed into that are one or two important things. The educated Indian, such as we see here, understands that our promises among ourselves are kept—with Indians, broken. But the average Indian, not yet civilized, has lost faith in us. They told us that in Minnesota; the Indians told me that in Dakota and Oklahoma. We do not keep our faith with them; we do not keep our promises, neither do we practise what we preach. When a man or woman has lost faith, character and stamina, he has lost the greatest things in life. Through the Christian faith, men who used to be bad have come to be good; a drinking man gives up that evil habit. A man or woman devoid of all incentive to become good never reforms.

The majority of Indians have given up all hope. They say, "What's the use!" They see the grafter, unchecked by us, robbing right and left. They observe, as Miss Barnard has said, prominent white individuals robbing the Indians, and then going to

church on Sunday. Hence, the Indian has no faith in our civilization, or Christianity. His industry in the way of farming amounts to no more than it did in the past, because when he develops a farm it is taken away from him. I doubt if any man here would farm, get an allotment in good shape, only to have it taken away.

Now as to politics. I think politics plays a much more prominent part in Oklahoma than even Miss Barnard in her excellent address has indicated. I do not wish to say too much concerning Mr. M. L. Mott, but for seven long years he fought heroically for the Indians. He found twenty thousand minors had been swindled out of their property; when he sent his message to Congress, there was but one man—a man from the Dakotas, Hon. C. H. Burke, member of the House—who had the courage to make a speech in Congress and cite the deplorable condition of Indian children in Oklahoma. Mr. Mott was opposed by the Oklahoma delegation in Congress. It is no betrayal of a secret, I believe, to read a portion of a letter from the Honorable Secretary of the Interior to Mr. Mott. This indicates that all the members from Oklahoma appeared against Mr. Mott in the Secretary's office, and the Secretary was compelled to withhold approval of Mr. Mott's renewed contract and to install another man in his place. Yet the Secretary wrote him this letter:-

* * * * *

"I shall always take pleasure in contemplating the manner in which you conducted yourself during the inquiry here. That you have been honest under difficulties and fearless at all times in doing your duty, seems to be admitted," etc. * * * * * (Signed) "Franklin K. Lane, Secretary."

Now, if the great Secretary of the Interior writes a letter commending a faithful public servant, isn't it lamentable that because of political interference, such a man is removed (no charges being found against him) and a stranger installed in his place? What kind of reforms and protection will such a course vouchsafe to the Indians of Oklahoma? (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

Second Session

Wednesday, October 14, 1914, 8 00 P. M.

MR. SMILEY: It now gives me great pleasure to present to you as our Chairman, who has just arrived, HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD, Member of Congress, from Brooklyn. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I was very greatly relieved a few moments after arriving to be informed that no untoward happening had taken place because of my temporary absence. Then an additional relief was afforded me when I was told it would not be necessary to make an opening address to-night; as the conference has already opened, my opening address can just as well be made one night as another! (Laughter.) So, like a great many artists, I am inclined to think I would like to get the atmosphere of the gathering before I should be tempted to address you.

The first topic for the evening is: "Civil Service in its Relation to Indian Administration." It gives me pleasure to introduce as the first speaker DUNCAN C. SCOTT, Esq., of Ottawa, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs of Canada, an office corresponding to that of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in this country.

CIVIL SERVICE IN ITS RELATION TO INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

ADDRESS BY DUNCAN C. SCOTT, ESQ.

I wish to preface a few remarks on the topic of the Civil Service and its relation to Indian administration, by the expression of the gratification I feel at being present during this session of the Mohonk Conference. The unique character of these gatherings is well-known to Canadians, several of whom have shared this generous hospitality in past years. I am glad to contribute to discussions which have been so helpful to the cause of reform, of high thought and earnest effort.

I intend only to deal with the civil service from the Canadian standpoint. I am unable to compare our system with yours, but a long association with our civil service, always as a member of the Department of Indian Affairs, may enable me to speak with some

knowledge of the subject and may lend some slight interest to what I have to say.

It has been frequently charged that the Indian service is greatly overmanned, that we are spending in some localities more money on the staff than we are on the Indians, and that the whole establishment might be swept away and the Indians would be none the worse.

If it were quite true and if critics could point to the fact that every copper of the Government expenditure on Indians was spent on the Indian civil service, it would be an evidence that our Indian policy was a great success.

That would be my own view of perfectly satisfactory Indian conditions—conditions which required the public money to be spent in supervision alone; this would surely be a witness that the Indian was supplying for himself all the varied requirements which are necessary to the business of living either in a primitive state or in one of high complexity.

That is the final solution of the problem which the Indian presents and we are all agreed that in the main our effort should be to cure him of dependence and to set up in each individual and in each community some force which will give initiative and ambition and which will eventually merge the Indian fully into the national life. (Applause.)

When we review our Indian appropriations and learn how varied are the monetary provisions made for the assistance of all sorts of Indian schemes, we must acknowledge that we are very far from the perfect state. But supervision is the root of the whole matter, and the nature of the civil duty which is imposed on members of the Indian service is so important and peculiar that personality and qualifications are of the greatest moment. They are almost of equal moment with the Indian policy which the officers are summoned to carry on.

The importance of a definite policy, of a scheme of administration that is well-grounded, is very great. The policy must, of course, be a simple straightforward one and generalized so loosely as to meet all sorts of conditions, and if codified in law, to appear in a few strong enactments.

In our country we have had the advantage of a definite policy and our scheme of administration has been built up through more than a century and a half, till it has become well lodged in precedent and law.

It is an immense advantage for men coming newly into our Indian service to find this policy and law so well defined; it curbs them and very soon their initial vagaries are quieted and they come into the old stream of administration and begin to see some wisdom in it.

Now I do not mean to say that our Indian policy-precedent-law

is perfect, and does not need revision, and I do not intend to burden you with a description of the policy or of needed reforms. I only refer to it at all because it is at the bottom of the whole business and it is of great advantage to have such a policy for the guidance and control of Indian officials.

This policy is kept alive by the permanency assured to our Department under the statutory provisions governing appointments and dismissals from the public service. A continuous policy cannot be maintained if the officers are subject to change for any except the weightiest reasons.

It would be almost impossible for such a contingency to arise that all the employees at an agency or at headquarters should be changed at once and that the experience and knowledge gained in administration should be immediately lost to the service. It results that there has always been someone with sufficient knowledge ready to fill the higher offices by promotion or to guide his new superior to the true source of information.

In Canada we have everything arranged to go through the one channel. Our Parliament, which is supreme, grants the money appropriations for all service and no expenditure can be made without this authority.

The civil service of Canada is administered under the Civil Service Act. It is divided into the inside and outside service; the former embracing all the officers resident at headquarters in Ottawa, and the second division all those who are employed away from headquarters in different parts of the country.

Appointments to the major positions of trust and responsibility both for the inside and outside service are made by order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council under the provisions of the Civil Service Act.

The Privy Council is made up of the Ministers of the Crown administering Departments, who have seats in Parliament and other Members of Parliament without portfolio. All appointments come before a special Committee of the Council called the Treasury Board.

Positions are held during pleasure and there is a provision in the Act that nothing therein contained shall impair the power of the Governor-General to remove or dismiss any officer, but any officer whose appointment is of a permanent nature shall not be removed from office except by authority of the Governor in Council; that is to say, the only power that can dismiss an officer is the one that has appointed him, and as no one can be dismissed from office unless for good and sufficient reasons, our service in all its branches is permanent.

The Civil Service Act provides that no officer shall be debarred from voting at any Dominion or Provincial election if he has a right to vote, but no such officer shall engage in partizan work in

connection with any such election. Active interference in politics is, therefore, forbidden, and if an officer of the Government engages in the partizan conflict his dismissal is inevitable.

Our political parties very generally respect the permanency of the service and the theory that "to the victor belongs the spoils" has never been acknowledged in our country. Dismissals for reasons of partizanship are by no means infrequent in the outside service, where officers, especially those drawing small stipends are interested in politics and cannot keep out of the strife.

By amendments to the Civil Service Act in 1908 the Civil Service Commission was organized, and all appointments to the inside service and promotions in the same body are first sanctioned by the Commission. All appointments are made as the result of competitive examination and promotions are to a certain extent competitive. Special provision is made for the appointment of technical officers or officers requiring special qualifications.

The Board consists of two commissioners and the appointment of a third is provided for. The commissioners hold office under good behaviour and can only be removed by the Governor-General on an address of the Senate and the House of Commons. It will be seen, therefore, that their tenure of office is even more secure than that of the other high officials in our service.

The position of the Auditor General is similarly safeguarded for the reason that his strict and fearless administration of the law, and that of the Civil Service Commissioners, is likely to create prejudice against them, and they are therefore given strong support by the stability of their appointments to be impartial and to resist improper influences.

The departments of the Canadian service are administered by officers called Deputies of the Ministers of the Crown administering the departments. These and a few other important posts are not filled by the Civil Service Commission but by the Government of the day. They have been sometimes filled from the inside service, sometimes persons have been appointed for party service who have had no previous connection with the civil service. But there is, I am glad to say, a tendency to promote from the ranks of the civil service men who are specially fitted by training and experience to administer the departments.

When a Deputy Head is dismissed the reasons must be laid before Parliament within fifteen days of the opening of the next session. This provision also makes for permanency, as no Minister would wish to face Parliament without good grounds for the dismissal of a Deputy, an officer who has theoretically the same powers as the Minister himself.

It seems to me that all endeavour for civil service reform as it applies to the Indian service, should be first for permanence and

next for the principle of promotion. In no other branch of the public service are these two things so desirable.

The loss of experience which accrues by short terms of office and by the absence of the incentive which assured promotion gives cannot be replaced. We should have the power of promoting officers and in the outside service exchanging them between agencies. Successful clerks should have before them a future as agents, and competent agents should be transferred to more important posts or promoted to inspectorships.

The extension to the outside service of the principle of appointments by the Commission has been considered, but no definite policy has been formulated. Appointments to the outside service are matters of political patronage and until there is a strong feeling among the politicians that it would be rather advantageous than disadvantageous to their influence to dispense with this patronage, the present system will continue.

All the outside officers of the department of Indian Affairs are nominated by a supporter of the party in power, officers of all grades from an inspector to an interpreter; day school teachers in the great majority of cases are engaged by the Department and all the employees of residential schools, with the single exception of physicians, are engaged by the religious denominations which conduct the schools.

In two great divisions of our work we are apt to get the best men available, in the inside service and in the educational field, in which last we depend upon the zeal of the churches.

Whatever may be the drawbacks and difficulties in cooperating with the denominations in the education of the Indians, it is incontestable that our gain is immense in having the church organizations to draw upon for our supply of qualified managers and instructors. We get all the force of the missionary spirit and all the power of self-interest too (using this word in no ignoble sense). The churches must have competent men with business ability to manage schools for which they are financially responsible and persons with teaching gifts to make the effort successful.

When I say that in these two divisions we are apt to get the best available men, I do not mean to cast any sharp dart at the system of political patronage. The sting of that system is in its abuse. If, by this method, we were to get our ranks filled only by the professional office seeker we would be in an unenviable position, but in a country youthful and rapidly developing as ours is, we have not as yet a very strong growth of professional office seekers. The men who are recommended for positions by our politicians are usually those who have been of some service and are likely to have strength and energy.

Many of our best officers are products of this way of appointment and to be quite candid, I would prefer it to any system of

competitive examination. The only true test of the man is the work itself. Evil results can follow the patronage system only when it is exercised without judgment and without consideration of the public welfare.

In my own experience I have found Ministers, Members of Parliament and others who have the choice for public offices willing to listen to reasonable demands and to select men who have the necessary qualifications and characteristics.

It is true that a successful Indian administrator requires a peculiar endowment, but there is some grace given by the work which takes most men out of themselves. The sense of guardianship, of responsibility for the destiny of native races usually calls forth in greater or less degree the qualities requisite for success.

The founder of the most powerful religious organization in the world said that he desired to recruit for his work men of average ability but of exquisite prudence. We might make use of this formula as a test for neophytes in the Indian Service. We also want men of average ability but of exquisite prudence. For it's a long road we are travelling and haste destroys us.

Time and prudence—these are the great powers which are upon our side in the attempt to change aboriginal conditions. The error into which we all creep is the setting up of artificial conditions and finical schemes which look promising but easily break down. The Indian needs to be kept near the earth and we should weave our schemes on a homely, sensible warp.

Prudence is the quality which will keep our business relations with the Indian in wise proportion to his needs. What other quality will be equally valuable with prudence when we come to the strife with the unscrupulous wolf of our own complexion who strives to exploit the Indian and his estate for his own selfish ends?

In our service all the higher officials in the outside service such as inspectors and agents, are appointed permanently by Order in Council and their tenure of office is secure if they keep out of politics and are honest administrators.

The lower employees, such as farm instructors, labourers, interpreters, etc., are not appointed permanently by Order in Council, but are none the less permanent under the above conditions. They usually serve a probationary period and if they prove fit, their services are continued from year to year.

In addition to permanency of office we have a superannuation system with the details of which I will not tax your patience. A wise superannuation system is an essential part of good government for the civil service of a country, both in the interest of the service and of the public.

I have tried in this outline to show you the present conditions which obtain in the Canadian civil service and to hint at the way they react on the Indian Department.

In the first place we have a definite policy established and an Indian Act which contains the law in the compass of a few pages. Then we have permanency reasonably assured for the persons called from time to time to take office.

These are the first requisites for success; when they are present all that can be accomplished by means of a system has been done. The results will be obtained by countless individual efforts converging towards the one end. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker this evening requires no introduction, DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE, Raleigh, N. C., President of Shaw University; formerly Superintendent of Haskell Institute.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE; SOME DESIRABLE MODIFICATIONS

ADDRESS BY CHARLES F. MESERVE, LL. D.

The civil service idea began to take shape when General Grant inaugurated his "peace policy" whereby the choice of Indian agents was left very largely to the leading religious denominations. This policy was in a measure successful but it was somewhat later that there came to be a definite adoption of civil service in the United States Indian service. I remember very well the situation when I entered the United States Indian service in 1889. Twenty-five years ago last summer I was asked by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to leave my work in Springfield, Massachusetts, and accept the superintendency of Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. I hesitated for a long time because I knew that practically every position in the Indian service had been, or was then, the football of party politics, but I was soon assured by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, after a conference with President Harrison, that there was to be a new deal. I told the Commissioner that if I accepted the superintendency I must be permitted to manage the institution on an educational and business basis without the political interference of members of Congress; that I must be as free to act as I would be if I were in charge of a large institution for the training of white youth, in the East. He replied, "That is what we want and we will stand by you."

On these conditions I accepted the position. Supervisor Peairs, who is here tonight, was one of my most efficient and honored associates. I soon called the fifty employees together and said in substance, "Ladies and gentlemen, I know as yet very few of you by name. I do not know anything of your religious belief or your political affiliations, and I will thank no one to tell me, but just as

long as you are men and women of high moral character, and render efficient service I wish you to remain." I then dismissed them. It was not long before a message came from the chairman of a county political committee that the entire committee wished to meet me on the following afternoon. This was their request: "There are certain positions which we wish declared vacant and we also wish to have the opportunity of naming the parties to fill the vacancies." I listened patiently, and without making any promises, politely dismissed the committee.

In a few days I was much surprised, for we were in the midst of the harvest season, by the institute farmer coming to me and saying, "I wish you would get authority to purchase a thousand bushels of corn. We have no corn to feed the cattle." I asked him to explain matters. He replied, "I am supposed to have some political influence and during the planting season I was on the stump, doing work as a political farmer." I told him I could now understand why yesterday, in going over the farm, I saw such an abundance of Jimson weed, cockleburs and sunflowers, instead of the abundant harvest we ought to have. I informed him that in the future he would have no occasion to go on the stump. He thanked me heartily and said, "I know how to be a good farmer as well as a political farmer and I am glad I am to have a chance." But we did, however, purchase a thousand bushels of corn, at 18c a bushel, seventy pounds to the bushel on the ear. This was the time when the toes and heels of a Kansas statesman were beginning to wear through and preparing him for the title, "The Socksless Statesman of Medicine Lodge." It was also the time when a Topeka Statesman was growing a longer beard that he might wear with becoming dignity the toga about to be thrown aside by one of the brainiest men in the United States Senate. In other words, the Populistic party was being born, and you can readily see why.

It was not long after this that I received a letter from one of the Kansas Senators. He said, "I think it is strange that in the grand old state of Massachusetts, from which you have recently come, you could not find one competent Republican to bring with you as your financial clerk instead of retaining a Missouri Democrat, an act especially repugnant to Kansas Republicans." The spoils system always dies hard.

The next year in July there came to visit me, as I was afterwards told, a politician who was to give me a "roast." The Indian boys were scattered here and there at their work. We spent the entire afternoon looking the farm over and when he went away he took my hand, and said, "I was reared on a farm, I am a good farmer myself. I do not believe there is in Douglas County a farm freer from weeds than this Indian school farm, or where you will find better crops." And I replied, "This is because of the civil service ideas I am putting into operation."

What I am about to say is not to be considered as unsympathetic and destructive, but rather as sympathetic and constructive. There ought to be some changes in the civil service as now carried out in the Indian school service. I do not believe that General Pratt could have done the grand work he did at Carlisle, that General Armstrong could have run his splendid career at Hampton, or that Dr. Frissell could have done his grand work, if all through the years these men had been hampered by a spoils system. They were given power to select their employees just as the head of a university, or college, is allowed to select the members of his faculty.

When the farmer voluntarily resigned, I began to make inquiries for a successor. I soon learned of a man of reputed high character who was considered capable. I made quite a journey to visit him, looked over his farm, and made inquiries about his character. I nominated him and he was appointed. Now, nearly twenty-five years after, he is still the efficient farmer of Haskell Institute. A method something like this should be employed as far as possible in the selection of school workers.

The conditions have greatly improved during the last quarter of a century. In 1891 the civil service was extended to the United States Indian service. I had interviews with Mr. Roosevelt; with General Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and others, on the extension of the civil service. Mr. Roosevelt, Commissioner Morgan and many other friends of the cause urged President Harrison to take such action and the politicians tried persistently to influence him in the opposite direction.

In 1891 President Harrison did place in the classified list the positions of superintendent, assistant superintendent, physician, matron and teacher, and Mr. Cleveland extended it to practically all of the remaining positions.

I am speaking after an experience of forty-five years as an educator and I think I understand the conditions fully. There is no system of examinations whereby you can determine some of the most important qualifications of an applicant, such as high moral character, personality, adaptability, and the power of right initiative. Perhaps I am radical in what I am going to suggest. I would like to see the whole system changed so that any graduate of a college, university, normal training school or any institution recognized by a state board of education can, upon receiving a diploma, be eligible to a position in an Indian school, in the state where these schools are located, just as is the case with schools under state control. This plan ought to be adopted and in time it will be. Such a plan is practicable. The United States is sending large sums of money yearly to every state in the Union to assist in the support of the agricultural colleges. The superintendents of education in our great Southern and Western states are competent and reliable. In North Carolina there is an Indian school support-

ed by the state, the only one so far as I know in the entire country. You know the story of the Lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh. The Croatan Indians of Robeson County are supposed to be the survivors of this Colony. There is a state supervisor of Indian and Negro schools and he could supervise the Cherokee school in the mountains of Western North Carolina. State control and state supervision, with financial support as now from the United States Treasury, would hasten a much desired end—the merging of the Indian into complete citizenship. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been one of the tenets of the Mohonk Conference in the past to hear the various sides of the subjects that come up for discussion. We have heard from Dr. Meserve, from the side of the superintendent who has to do with those who have taken the civil service or other examination or been appointed in some other way. The next speaker on the program is HON. WILLIAM S. WASHBURN, of Washington, until recently a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, and formerly Director of the Philippine Civil Service.

THE APPLICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW IN EXAMINATIONS.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM S. WASHBURN

I very much regret that I will not be able to take up the points raised by my good friend, Dr. Meserve, who has just preceded me. There has been, during the last year or two, certain threatened legislation which appears to the friends of the Indian service and the friends of civil service reform as likely to be inimical to the interests of the personnel of the Indian service, the bureau itself, and finally the Indians. The limited time allowed will permit a discussion only of this phase of the subject.

The Government, recognizing its duty and obligation with respect to the Indians of the United States and undertaking to subserve their interests, has created an organization—the Bureau of Indian Affairs—to carry out the policy of promoting the welfare of these wards of the nation. Much depends upon the character and efficiency of the personnel of this branch of the civil service in promoting the interests of good Indian administration. In 1891 the Secretary of the Interior, by direction of President Harrison, placed under the operation of the civil service act and rules certain positions, including those of physicians, superintendents, assistant superintendents, teachers, and matrons. In its report for 1894 the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended the extension of the classified service to the entire Indian service and the Secretary of the Interior made a similar recommendation in his report for

1895. The following year practically all positions and the incumbents thereof were by executive order brought into the competitive classified service. It is noteworthy that with the exception of the head of the office and his immediate assistants the personnel of the Indian service has been for many years in the so-called classified service; that is, appointments and changes in the service and separations therefrom are subject to the requirements of the civil service act and rules.

The act, when passed in 1883, was applied only to a limited number of offices and positions in the general federal service, but provided that the President might extend from time to time the application of the law. The Presidents since the passage of the act have exercised the authority vested in them by the law, and by executive order have brought within its operation nearly all offices and employments in the executive civil service of the United States. Until recently, whenever any office or class of positions was ordered classified by the Presidents, the rights of incumbents regularly and lawfully appointed have been recognized and their status as to tenure, etc., has been precisely that of other officers and employees subsequently appointed to the service upon certification from the registers of the Civil Service Commission. Since the Lake Mohonk Conference of last year, a new method of treatment of employees in the Indian service who had not a civil service examination status was proposed for enactment by the Congress into law. The Indian appropriation bill as presented contained the following paragraph:

Provided, That no part of this appropriation, or any other appropriation provided for herein, except appropriations made pursuant to treaties, shall be paid any employee in any position in the Indian school service who does not hold a certificate showing that such employee has passed the necessary examination required by the Civil Service Commission for such position, except such employees as are exempt under civil service rules.

Only after an extended discussion on the floor of the House of Representatives, when the origin, the purpose, and the effect of the paragraph were established, did that body in Committee of the Whole House agree to concur in the Senate amendment to strike that paragraph from the bill. This apparently plausible application of the examination system was an ingenious or disingenuous device to separate from the service by Act of Congress a portion of the personnel of the Indian service, in violation of precedent and principle theretofore recognized and observed since the passage of the civil service act in 1883.

The passing of a civil service examination by persons whose positions are brought into the classified service, as a condition precedent to retaining such positions, was not contemplated by the civil service act. The competitive examinations given by the Civil Service Commission for original entrance to the public service

are not designed to test efficiency of *employees* in the actual performance of their duties. The act provides a method of selection for original appointment through competitive examination given by the Commission and further provides that the initial service of appointees shall be probationary. Their fitness for the service and their retention therein are matters wisely left to executive and administrative officials and not to the Civil Service Commission. After *regular* appointment, whether or not made as a result of competitive examination, the employee demonstrates his fitness or unfitness by actual work under official direction, the only convincing, qualifying test of capability and efficiency. From the standpoint of good administration and of civil service reform there appears to be no valid reason for subjecting employees to examination who have been lawfully appointed and classified by competent authority, and who are capable and efficient.

An open competitive examination is usually held only to fill vacancies. To require incumbents of unquestioned reliability and efficiency to enter such examinations seems unnecessary and inconsistent with the stability and security of tenure essential to good civil service administration and the just claims and reasonable expectations of the incumbents to continue during efficiency and good behavior in the service to which they were regularly appointed. Entrance examinations are not designed to apply to persons already holding an office. The best test of efficiency and fitness is found in the record of work done. The civil service law recognizes this vital consideration in that an examination is completed only by actual trial during a probationary period of service. An open competitive examination is but a preliminary test of fitness to determine the order in which competitors shall be certified for trial appointment. It is thus seen that in the last analysis the Commission is not in a position fully to determine the efficiency and fitness of an employee without due consideration of his record in the performance of his duties. All the principles of the merit system and of law and justice appear to contemplate that the employee who has been legally appointed and who has demonstrated his capacity by efficient and satisfactory service shall not be required to compete with untried and inexperienced applicants in an examination appropriate for such applicants only and which does not include his efficiency record.

The provision of law concerning the revision and extension of the classified service is as follows:

Third. That from time to time said Secretary, the Postmaster General, and each of the heads of Departments mentioned in the one hundred and fifty-eighth section of the Revised Statutes, and each head of an office, shall, on the direction of the President, and for facilitating the execution of this act, respectively revise any then existing classification or arrangement of those in their respective departments and offices, and shall, for the purpose of the examination herein provided for, include in one or more of such classes, as far

as practicable, subordinate places, clerks, and officers, in the public service pertaining to their respective departments not before classified for examination.—Sec. 6, civil service act, Jan. 16, 1883, 22 Stat. 403.

There is no provision in the civil service act for the examination of persons holding positions classified at the time of the passage of that act or to be classified thereunder in pursuance of the provisions of the act, to determine their fitness for retention in the service. Until recently it has been the practice in extending the competitive service to positions not theretofore classified to follow the rule based on the law, and to treat the occupants of the positions at the time of classification as entitled to all the benefits and protection of the provisions of law and rules applying to persons who entered the service through competitive examination, as will be seen from section 6 of Civil Service Rule II:

Except as provided in section 7 of this rule, a person holding a position when it becomes classified and subject to competitive examination shall have all the rights which he would acquire if appointed thereto upon examination under these rules, but he shall not be transferred without first passing the examination provided by the Commission.

The exception referred to is in the case of employees in post offices advanced from the third to the second class and thereby classified automatically, who are required to establish their capacity for efficient service to the satisfaction of the Postmaster General before they receive the status and rights of a classified employee. This capacity is not established through competitive civil service examination, but in the natural and logical manner, by their efficiency records and the reports of their immediate superiors.

How utterly inappropriate, then, is an examination given by the Civil Service Commission to test the fitness of employees to retain their positions in the public service, especially those employees, who perchance, for many years have rendered excellent service and performed every duty to the satisfaction of their superior officers. Instead of exemplifying the merit system such a procedure would constitute an indefensible method to eliminate from the Indian service many faithful and efficient employees and thereby accomplish by indirection what can not be consistently and honestly accomplished by direction. Nevertheless this device is being applied in another branch of the service, and there is no doubt as to its effectiveness in accomplishing the results intended. I refer to fourth-class postmasters. There is a just and honorable way to determine the fitness of employees and that is by the adoption of standards of efficiency and thereby fairly measuring their value in the actual performance of duty. If the service contains unfit or inefficient employees, administrative or executive officers should be competent to ascertain who they are to enable the appointing power to act intelligently in the interests of good administration.

Other innovations proposed in the Indian appropriation bill

were seriously considered. The friends of the Indian service who followed the hearings before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during the consideration of the House bill felt somewhat alarmed in view of the sentiment favoring the exemption of certain positions from the requirements of the civil service law. Curiously enough, while it was urged that employees already in the service who had not a civil service examination status should not be retained, it was at the same time urged that no examination should be required to fill certain positions, such as inspectors, special agents, supervisors, and physicians. While no provision allowing these positions to be filled without meeting the requirements of the Commission in open competitive examination, was retained in the Indian appropriation bill as finally passed, the object of the proposed provision, as to certain inspectors, was accomplished by executive order of April 14, 1914. It would be difficult to discover on what principle such adverse provisions in the same bill could be based. But the purpose, for it can not properly be called a principle, was no doubt the same in both cases; namely, to create vacancies which might be filled through personal or political preference—the spoils system of making appointments. It was sought to incorporate in the bill authority to make original appointments without the intervention of the Civil Service Commission because, it was alleged, the examination method of selection brought incompetents into the service, and in the same bill it was incongruously proposed to determine by examination the efficiency of employees who had not been appointed through examination. It is perhaps enough to say that the statement made during the hearings before the Senate committee, that inspectors in other branches of the Interior Department appointed without the intervention of the Commission were incompetent, went unchallenged.

While the efficiency of *employees* can better be determined by administrative officers than by the Civil Service Commission, there is no reason why the Commission may not through appropriate examinations offer the best persons available for *entrance* into the service as probationers. Examinations held by the Commission during the last few years to fill important positions, measured both by salary and by unusual requirements in the way of training, experience, and technical qualifications, have amply demonstrated that such positions can be better filled in this way. Examinations for the higher grade positions are, of course, of a very different character from those of the lower grade. Where the position has been sufficiently attractive because of the high character of the duties to be performed and relatively high salary, the Commission has been able to offer the appointing officer the best qualified persons available in the country to fill the vacant positions. There are no positions heretofore in the classified service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which cannot better be filled through appropriate

civil service examination than by the old method of selection by the appointing officer on the recommendation of personal and political friends.

There have always been good men in responsible positions in the public service and out of it who seriously think that a public official can himself determine the relative fitness of applicants for trial appointment better than can the Civil Service Commission through open competitive examination. However conscientious such an appointing officer may be, he always finds that any method of selection of his own results in embarrassment and failure because of pressure of personal friends and political influence which he can not ignore. They see through a glass darkly until face to face with demands that can not be resisted in the absence of the impersonal and disinterested procedure which the civil service law contemplates, in making selection and appointment to public office.

When appointees are found to be incompetent it is not the fault of the examination system if they are retained in the service, for the responsibility contemplated by the civil service act properly rests with administrative officials to discover unfitness and take steps to separate the inefficient from the service during the probationary period, or at any time thereafter if inefficiency is demonstrated. The faithful application of the civil service law to the Indian service or to any other branch of the executive civil service means, of course, the refusal to recognize personal and political influence in making selections for appointment in the service and retention therein. The wholesale disparagement of the ability and efficiency of the personnel of the Indian service during the hearings before the Senate committee by some of those endeavoring to secure the withdrawal from the classified service of certain of the higher grade positions was as unfair as it was ungenerous to a body of employees so many of whom by education, training, and experience possess unusual mental and moral qualifications for the work of promoting the welfare of the Indian. Many members of this conference are familiar with the advancement made in recent years in the average degree of efficiency of the personnel of the Indian service, in spite of the present relatively low rates of compensation, and it is not inopportune for this conference to record its approval or disapproval of the principle of maintaining the integrity of the classified service of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to express its view whether or not a *bona fide* application of the merit system ought to prevail in filling vacancies and making changes in the personnel of the Indian service. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The second topic for this evening's discussion is: "Liquor and Peyote as affecting the Indian Problem." The first speaker will be MR. HENRY A. LARSON, Chief Special Officer of the Indian service for the suppression of liquor traffic among Indians,

FEDERAL SUPPRESSION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC
AMONG INDIANS

ADDRESS BY MR. HENRY A. LARSON

The thought has occurred to me that with the exception of the first topic for this evening regarding civil service, we come back in the last abstract, to the effect of the liquor traffic on all of these problems. When we talk about graft and legal difficulties, incidentally there is a purpose visible at once—the protection of the Indian. Invariably all of the difficulties complained of come back to the fact that liquor has made possible such conditions among the Indians as will enable people to graft upon and from them.

I first call attention to the attitude of the Indians themselves toward intoxicating liquor, and wish I had time to speak of the attitude of a great many of the earlier Indian chiefs—the head men of the various tribes—who were antagonistic to the use of intoxicating liquor among their people. Almost all of them protested most vehemently to the early white men who associated with them against the debauchery and degrading influence brought to their young men by the rum furnished by white men. The particular thought that comes to my mind in that connection is this: it is the white man's fire water, and not the Indian's. Therefore, it is our problem more than it is the Indians'. Some fifty odd treaties entered into by the United States with various Indian tribes all express their attitude as antagonistic to the use of intoxicating liquor by Indians, or provide for the prohibition of its use and introduction into the land,—sometimes both the land ceded and the land to be retained by the Indian people. The first legislation by the Congress of the United States was adopted because of a request made to President Jefferson by Mitcheconnequa, who made a trip to Washington and asked for protection. As a result of that appeal Congress passed the first legislation prohibiting the bringing of liquor among the Indians. I wish, also, to call attention to the fact that the presence of liquor among the Indians is due to the greed and avarice of the white man. The white man wanted the Indian's property and that was the reason why he brought intoxicating liquors to him. He wanted the red man's property, and got it at a price way below what it ought to have brought to the red man, at the same time selling liquor to him at exorbitant prices. Even to this day the same condition obtains. We have heard today of some of the conditions in Oklahoma with reference to getting the Indians' property away, in many cases due to the fact that intoxicating liquor was first used. In Florida, not three years ago, the same kind of a proposition came up with reference to fur trading: an Indian came into a certain place with about five hundred dollars' worth of furs; he was filled with liquor by un-

scrupulous white men, killed, and then the white men took the furs the Indian had and sold them for over five hundred dollars.

That is not however, the special matter to which I desire to call your attention. Reverting to conditions in the state of Oklahoma, something over 100,000 Indians there, mostly members of the Five Civilized Tribes, are protected by the act of March 1, 1895, with reference to the introduction of intoxicating liquor into that portion of Oklahoma. You will be interested to learn some of the experiences of this service with reference to keeping intoxicating liquors away from this people. It is a game of wits on the part of the officers as against the wit of unscrupulous violators of the law, and frequently it is difficult to secure the coöperation of the officials. Sometimes it is not possible to secure the coöperation of a single official of county or municipality; this has frequently been so in the matter of the enforcement of this legislation in spite of the fact that Oklahoma has a state-wide prohibition law. In addition to the Indian Territory portion of that state there is, of course, the great wealth of the Osages, now Osage county. The wealth of these Indians makes them the target of hundreds, I may say thousands, of unscrupulous white men, who are invariably, furnishing intoxicants to them, day in and day out. There was a place in the community, immediately adjacent to the Indian Territory but within the state of Oklahoma, where carload shipments of intoxicating liquors were made almost daily, because shrewd and perhaps unscrupulous lawyers had devised this scheme of evasion of the law on the basis of the decision of the courts, that they could ship liquors, without violating the law at that particular time, to a point in the old Oklahoma Territory and then transport it from there across the line into the Eastern district. Conditions constantly grew worse until two men, in copartnership, who were shipping to a point in that vicinity, largely for the purpose of supplying Osage Indians, who were receiving quarterly payments of \$170 to \$190 each, from two to four carloads of intoxicating liquors every month, were apprehended and, upon a plea of guilty on their part in the federal court in the Western District of Oklahoma, were sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine for each of \$500. But after these individuals had begun serving their time in the penitentiary, on this plea of guilty, one of the big liquor concerns of Kansas City, Missouri, desirous of again opening their business, started mandamus proceedings against certain railroads, to compel them to carry liquor shipments, which they had heretofore refused to carry, to points in Osage County. I may say this, with reference to the carload shipments, prior to the conviction of those two men, that this liquor concern had been billing liquor through to a point beyond Oklahoma, say in Texas or Arkansas, and that the cars were robbed en route in order to get liquor into Osage County. After starting mandamus proceedings this con-

cern discovered that such proceedings would be of practically no value unless those two bootleggers were out of the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth. So the attorneys for the concern appeared before the judge, making application for a writ of habeas corpus. The case was heard before the judge and the men were released from the penitentiary on a technicality, and they have gone back again to the same game in Osage County.

This shows some of the difficulties with which we must contend. Take another case in Oklahoma. A year ago last June I had the privilege of assisting in running down some of these people in the following manner. We confiscated seven wagon loads of intoxicating liquors, just inside the corporate limits of Tulsa. Accompanying the liquor were two notorious men, who were engaged in the bootlegging business in the city of Tulsa, and we detained them there while we destroyed the liquor that we had seized. What was the result? The second day myself and five of the officers engaged in that work were arrested under a warrant and confined in the county jail on a charge of simple assault on these two individuals, since we stopped them for a couple of hours because they were accompanying some of their intoxicating liquors,—an unusual procedure in that part of the country, the "big guns" to be accompanying their own intoxicating liquors.

Although Oklahoma has a large problem to suppress liquor traffic among the Indians, there are other states with large problems. In the city of Reno, Nevada, there are some 250 Indians, whom you might call stragglers, living just outside of the city, who come into that municipality, and engage in orgies of various kinds that ought to be stopped. Officers of our service have been operating there and have accomplished good results from time to time. Also we have in the state of Minnesota a law passed by the Legislature of the Commonwealth, prohibiting the use of decoys for the purposes of ascertaining whether a person engaged in selling liquor is violating the law or not. We have to contend there with the lack of coöperation of local officers, county authorities either declining to act in the matter of prosecutions under the state law—a large number of Indians of that state are citizens,—or acting in a half-hearted manner in the matter of law enforcement.

Down in Nebraska, too, some of the Indians are citizens and folks are a little bit scared to supply them with any of the usual line of intoxicants; so the Indians go into the different grocery stores, or little lemon extract stores, adjacent to the reservation or Indian settlement, and buy lemon extract, Jamaica ginger, vanilla extract, Colic Cures, Pain Killers or some such medicine, clearly under the provision of the law with reverence to furnishing intoxicants to the Indians in the state of Nebraska, and we have had considerable difficulty in punishing such people.

There are 300,000 Indians, in rough figures, in the United

States, and Congress in its wise liberality has decided to give \$100,000 each year for the suppression of the liquor traffic, and that means thirty-three cents for each Indian in the United States. Let me suggest that by no means all of the 300,000 Indians are drunkards; they are not so, nor are there many more Indians who drink, in proportion to their population, than white men. Bear that proposition in mind, and when you take into consideration that the Indian has had property that the white man wanted, and that the white man taught him to drink—forced him to drink, in order to get his property away from him—it is strange, indeed, that he has been able to stand the temptations as well as he has; I do not believe twenty per cent of the adult Indian population are addicted seriously to intoxicants; I think I could put the percentage smaller; we hear more about those who are addicted to the use of it than of those who are not. Those not yet addicted to it are Indians who should also have protection to save them from falling into this snare.

I said we had \$100,000. We have during the last year instituted in the United States something more than 1,800 cases against violators of the Indian prohibition laws. I have not time to go into details. There were something over 32,000 gallons of liquor seized in the Indian country by officers of our department during that period. We operated in more than twenty-four states last year. During the eight years that this service has been engaged in the prosecution of offenders against this law, and the protection of Indians from intoxicating liquors, some seven or eight of our officers and also officers of other departments assisting in this work have been killed. During the past summer two United States deputy marshals in Tulsa, Oklahoma, were shot by a former chief of police of that city and about two years ago one of our men was shot. A serious situation, you see, exists in many places with reference to the dangers which our officers must face. We have had a large number of decisions in the Court of Appeals, District Court, and the Supreme Court of the United States, mostly favorable to our contentions. One of the decisions affecting us most is one holding that the moment the title of an Indian to a particular piece of property is transferred that land ceases to be Indian country, unless some special act of Congress provides otherwise, or it is restricted by a special law or treaty; the result has been to establish town sites right in the heart of the Indian reservations, where it would not be a violation of existing law for a person to introduce intoxicating liquors or establish saloons. In the town site of Parker within the Colorado River reservation, there have been two saloons operated largely for the purpose of supplying Indians surreptitiously with intoxicating liquors. One of the things we need is legislation to throw that particular class of townsites which are wholly within the boundaries of Indian reservations, into what is

termed Indian country, so as to prohibit the placing of intoxicating liquors adjacent to, and of convenient access to, the Indians of a reservation. Another thing we need in connection with our work is legislation to protect the officers of the service in such instances as those to which I have already referred. Take the case of the officer killed two years ago; the state authorities of the county in which this crime occurred prosecuted one of the defendants on the charge of murder, and he was acquitted by the jury. The only possible means of procedure against these individuals, except by the local authorities, was to proceed in the federal court on the charge of conspiracy to prevent a man from exercising his civil rights; under that proceeding we were able to prosecute three of the four persons;—the fourth was never apprehended. These three persons connected with the conspiracy were sentenced to varying terms in the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth.

Another matter to which I desire to call attention is some of the difficulties we have had in the states of Arizona and New Mexico. I refer to the manufacture of the drink known as tulapai, which is manufactured from corn and was originally started as a food for the older Indians, but the fermenting of this juice of the corn makes an intoxicant which is now a menace particularly to the Apache Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. It was only recently that a superintendent of one of the reservations in Arizona wrote that at least 500 of his Indians were drunk every Sunday from the use of it. There is absolutely no law by which you can prevent the manufacture of it upon an Indian reservation; the only thing provided for by legislation is the prohibition of the manufacture of spirituous liquors; you cannot establish a distillery on an Indian reservation. This tulapai is manufactured mostly by the women of the tribes, and it is rather a serious situation, for when you come to prosecute them and bring them into the federal court, naturally the jury is sympathetic, the court is sympathetic, and they send them back with a warning or injunction, "Go and sin no more."

Other speakers will refer to the peyote situation.

We ought to have some legislation which will prohibit the manufacture of liquors upon Indian reservations. The liquor problem is a great problem, an interesting problem, a problem that touches the most vital conditions and interests of Indians in every section of our country, and until we can solve it among the Indians of this nation we cannot solve the graft and other hard problems with which all have to deal who are connected with the Indian service. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. F. H. DAIKER, Chief of the Law and Order Section of the Indian Office.

LIQUOR AND PEYOTE A MENACE TO THE INDIAN

ADDRESS BY MR. F. H. DAIKER

I have come here to address you on two very important subjects as applied to the Indian Service; namely, the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians and the use of peyote or mescal by these people.

The first subject is one which requires and demands considerable correspondence, research and study, and is worthy of the coöperation and assistance of all those who have the interest and welfare of the Red Man at heart.

Congress has, since 1834, enacted several laws dealing with this subject and within recent years appropriated one hundred thousand dollars a year for the suppression of this traffic. It has proven very helpful to the Indian and to the efforts of the Indian Office in its labors on his behalf, but is not adequate. When you consider the extent of the territory within which we are called upon to operate on behalf of the Indian, extending from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, the enormity of the undertaking will be realized, especially if we are to be successful. Our work is not limited to the states wherein Indians reside, but those adjoining and surrounding. In Oklahoma we have the greatest number of Indians, and by reason of the agreements entered into with many of them and the provisions of the act of March 1, 1895, which was enacted to protect the Indians in the old Indian Territory and which is now the Eastern district of Oklahoma, we extend our work into Missouri and Arkansas on the East, Texas on the South and West and Kansas on the North.

The matter of suppressing the liquor traffic is of importance from three standpoints: first, that of the Indian; second, that of the Federal Government; and third, that of the state and the citizens thereof.

The evils that have resulted, so far as the Indian is concerned, from the use of intoxicants are varied and numerous. Generally speaking it has reduced the vitality of the Indian both mentally and physically so that he becomes an easy prey both to disease and the unscrupulous individual. It has been the means by which he has been deprived of most everything he has. These facts are matters of record in the history of the country and need no proof at this time. The benefit which will result to the Indian by being protected from this evil is apparent, if you know his present condition and the industrial program that has been mapped out for his benefit. Commissioner Sells has inaugurated a most comprehensive campaign for the development and welfare of the Indian. Congress has come to his assistance by providing large gratuity and reimbursable appropriations. To make this policy a success, the Indian must be protected from liquor. Success in suppressing this

nefarious traffic therefore means the advancement of the Indian along industrial, financial and social lines and will hasten the time when the Federal Government can release jurisdiction over him.

The Commissioner's program of industrial activity and development necessarily carries with it at some time or other political and financial liberty and this means that the Indian assumes the burdens of citizenship, pays taxes, becomes subject to the laws both civil and criminal of the state wherein he resides, sends his children to the public schools and casts his vote at the ballot box. To fully protect the Indian from liquor will enable the Federal Government to turn over to the states a citizen who will be able to cope with any of the state and whose admission will prove a valuable asset to the state. Should we fail along these lines, it will mean that the state will have to accept a degenerate and pauper, and do over again what the Federal Government has attempted for years.

Special laws have been enacted, regarding the liquor traffic affecting the States of Arizona and New Mexico, the Eastern District of Oklahoma, and the Flathead, Fort Berthold, Fort Peck, Omaha, Pine Ridge, Red Lake, Rosebud, Siletz, Standing Rock, and Yakima Reservations. There are several treaties or agreements containing liquor restrictions covering the Yankton Reservation, the greater portion of the State of Minnesota, the Nez Perce Indians and others.

Most of these acts, treaties and agreements have been contested in the courts, and I am glad to say that in nearly every case the contention of the Government has been upheld. The multiplicity of questions which have been raised and are being presented is astounding.

However, there are many shortcomings in the present law and it is hoped that Congress may enact the legislation which has already been drafted. It is also very essential that we should have more funds for this work. It has been strongly advocated that we should provide an officer for each reservation, but with the funds available at the present time that is impossible. Complaints are being received continuously but because of the scope of the work and the extent of the territory it requires in instances, from two to four months before they can be looked into. Conditions in the meantime will either become worse or the offender will pass on, and because no action is taken, the Office is charged with neglect when under the circumstances we could do nothing without letting something else suffer.

Next in importance to the additional legislation and increased appropriation is the coöperation and assistance of the citizens in the vicinity of Indian reservations and localities. Too often are persons permitted to escape the punishment of the law because the juries do not consider it a serious wrong to sell liquor to an Indian or

introduce it into his reservation and too often do the citizens upbraid and ridicule the officers engaged in this work instead of assisting them and furnishing the information which will bring about law and order and improvement in local conditions. The Commissioner, through his circular to the employees, dated March 25, has done very much to help along those lines. His circular has renewed on the one hand and aroused on the other a sentiment which has and will prove of material assistance in this work, and it is hoped that by our acts and efforts we may justify the public in the confidence which has been placed in us.

I must now branch off to the other subject of my remarks.

In the Commissioner's Annual Report of 1911, it was said that "a relatively new intoxicant of a peculiarly insidious form has come into favor with Indians in many parts of the country." This is peyote. The United States Dispensatory says that there is used in Mexico for narcotic purposes certain cacti whose tops have entered commerce under the name of mescal buttons. The various contents of the button are set forth from a scientific viewpoint and it is said that four or five buttons will produce a peculiar cerebral excitement attended with an extraordinary visual disturbance characterized by an incessant flow of visions of infinite beauty, grandeur and variety of both color and form, often followed after a time by the seeing of monsters, grotesque faces and gruesome shapes. During the excitement there are dilation of the pupil, muscular relaxation and some slowing of the pulse. Loss of sense of time, partial anaesthesia, weakened heart action, wakefulness and in some cases nausea and vomiting also have been noted, but no distinct alteration of the respiration. These results have been confirmed by several observers. The Bureau of American Ethnology says peyote is a species of cactus found in the arid hills along the lower Rio Grande and southward in Mexico; formerly and still much used for ceremonial and medicinal purposes by certain tribes. By the whites it is commonly but incorrectly known as mescal from a confusion with the maguey cactus of the Southwest from which the fiery intoxicant mescal is prepared. They describe its use by the Indians which is pretty well known.

In 1908 the Department submitted to the Department of Agriculture the question of the effect of peyote or mescal. That Department said:

"No very extensive tests have been made of the medicinal qualities of the cacti. Some years ago one of our chemists ate a few of these buttons in order to experience the physiological effects which were practically as described by the Indians. * * * * * In the ordinary method of use the dry mescal is taken into the mouth and thoroughly masticated. Usually four or five buttons are sufficient to produce a form of intoxication which presents a number of phases due to several constituents of the cactus. * * * * * Apparently the most striking effects of the mescal buttons are due to two of its constituents one of which has a narcotic and hypnotic action similar to that of opium while the

other produces cerebral excitement somewhat resembling that caused by *cannabis indica* or Indian hemp. * * * The combined effect of these alkaloïds, however, is similar to that caused by opium and the active principle of *cannabis indica*, but we are unable to find any accounts of the effects produced by the continued use of these buttons; yet we know of no drug producing similar effects the prolonged use of which is not harmful."

In another communication the Secretary of Agriculture said:

"I do not hesitate to say that it does produce intoxication both when used alone and when combined with other substances. Its effects when used alone are so marked that it is sometimes called 'dry whiskey.'"

Dr. A. Hrdlicka, Curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology of the United States National Museum says:

"I beg to state that such effects while not as violent or quite as harmful as those of alcohol, are nevertheless deleterious and the use of the substances should be discouraged or, if possible, prohibited. The effect of the button manifests itself very largely in nervous stimulation and in cases of a large dose in a sort of intoxication. These conditions, if repeated for a length of time, are bound, not only to cause a permanent harm to the individual addicted to mescal, but they also become a source of other abnormal conditions which I cannot well explain in a letter. The habitual use of mescal must be classed with the habitual use of drugs such as morphine or cocaine, though the substance is not as dangerous."

Professor Putt of the Agriculture College of North Dakota, Professor Angiers of Yale University, Doctor Morgan of the Department of Agriculture, the late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell and many others have all investigated the effect of this article.

The Indians throughout the country have taken a stand on the matter, some being in favor while others are opposed to its use. The following tribes of Indians according to the records of the Indian Office use peyote or mescal:

Mission, Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Havasupai, Kiowa, Comanche, Osage, Kickapoo, Omaha, Winnebago, Pottawatomie, Sac and Fox, Santee, Shawnee, Otoe, and Missouria. It has reached as far north as Wyoming.

The Indians use it both in the dry form and by steeping it in water. Great stress has been laid upon the fact that mescal and peyote are not identical. Mescal is supposed, by some of the Indians, to be the poisonous article, while peyote is harmless. However, the names seem to be interchangeable for the same article.

It is also claimed by many of the Indians that the women and children are not permitted to partake of it, but the evidence in the Indian Office disproves this fact. Many of the Indians consider it as a medicine, while others use it in connection with a religious service. In the latter case, however, our records show that the Indians hold such service whenever they wish to partake of peyote. The great cry of those in favor of its use is that the Office is attempting to interfere with their religious liberties, but in my opinion the

religious feature is being used as a cloak to cover its general use by the Indians.

Peyote is being used very largely by the Indians in Oklahoma, and so far as we have been able to learn, that is the only state in the Union which has legislation prohibiting the traffic therein. The Office has attempted to procure legislation on this subject but thus far has been unsuccessful. However, in connection with the legislation now pending enlarging the laws relative to the liquor traffic, the Office has inserted a specific provision regarding peyote or mescal, opium, hashish, and the like, and if enacted will go a long ways towards correcting many of the evils which now exist. (Applause.)

I shall close by reading to you two affidavits submitted by Indians who are partakers of peyote.

"He is the head of this religion on the reservation and he has twelve men who are his apostles. The best six of them sit on his right hand whenever they have meetings, and the six who are not so much good on his left hand. The apostles are dressed all in white and sit all night as a penance; They have a fire in the centre of their circle and burn something like pine cones or leaves, and the smoke curls up like a sacrifice. He does not believe in having the Bible in his ceremony. They eat the mescal or peyote, which are the same thing, and rattle gourds and drum and sing. Before they sing they pass the peyote around. They begin taking this medicine along about dark, and when they pass it, ask you how many you want, and they often try to persuade you to take more than you want. The medicine does not work right away, but after it begins to take effect along toward midnight they begin to cry and sing and pray and stand and shake all over, and some of them just sit and stare. I used to sit in their range right along, and ate some of their medicine, but after I ate it the first time I was kind of afraid of it. It made me feel kind of dizzy and my heart was kind of thumping and I felt like crying. Some of them told me that this was because of my sins. It makes me nervous, and when I shut my eyes I kind of see something like an image or visions, and when my eyes are open I can't see it so plain. One of these fellows took 12 beans, or 12 peyote, sitting with some girls. They asked me if I would read the Bible. One of the sides of the religion believe in having the Bible read. I told them that I could not see it because my eyes were kind of dizzy. The Indians began to stand up around me and to cry. After I had taken 12 beans or peyote I saw a mountain with roads leading to the top and people dressed in white going up these roads. I got very dizzy and I began to see all kinds of colors and arrows began to fly all around me. I began to perspire very freely. I asked to be taken out of doors. At that time it was twenty below zero. I felt better when I got out of doors. When I went in again I began to hear voices just like they came from all over the ceiling and I looked around in the other room and thought I heard women singing in there, but the women were not allowed to sing in the meetings usually, and so this was kind of strange. This was about the first time I had eaten the peyote and I was scared, and I asked some of the people what kind of stuff this was I had been eating. I was afraid at first to eat the peyote but afterwards I kind of did it because they were doing it, and they were my friends, and I thought I liked to try it. The leader of this part of the peyote leaders told me that this peyote was the Holy Ghost, but I told him that that could not be so and it was wrong for him to say that. I kind of made up my mind that this thing (the eating of the peyote) was wrong and there was more to it than I thought; so I decided to try it out fully and see really what there was in it. My mother is a strong Christian woman. and although I was not a

church member I believed in prayer; so I prayed to God to help me, and I made up my mind that I was willing to sacrifice my life to expose this bad religion and I started out by eating 36 of these peyote. They assumedly took effect. I got just like drunk, only more so and I felt kind of good, but more good than when I drink whiskey, and then after that I began to see a big bunch of snakes crawling all around in front of me and it was a feeling like as if I was cold came over me. The treasurer of the sacred Peyote Society, which is the name by which they call this Mescal religion or Peyote Church, was sitting near me, and I asked him if he heard young kittens. It sounded as if they were right close to me, and then I sat still for a long time and I saw a big black cat coming toward me, and I felt him just like a big tiger walking up on my legs toward me, and when I felt his claws I jumped back and kind of made a sound as if I was afraid, and he asked me to tell him what was the matter, so I told him after a while. I did not care to tell at first, but I made up my mind then, after what I saw, that I would not take another one of these peyotes if they gave me a ten dollar bill. I was sick to my stomach and trembled all over, and the next day and for several days after that I could not dress and had chills and a headache and was awful sick. In this sacred Peyote Society they have a form of baptism and they baptise with the tea made from stewing the peyote, and they baptise in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the Holy Ghost being the peyote. Then you drink some of the tea and they make signs on your forehead with the tea and then take an eagle's wing and fan you with it. I heard an educated Indian and he said in a meeting on Sunday morning, My friends, I am glad I can be here and worship this medicine (peyote) with you, and we must organize a new church and have it run like the Mormon Church."

"I did not know what the Indians were doing some of the time and could not understand their language, but one time they baptized me with mescal tea or peyote tea, and gave me the name of John White Eagle. They say that if you eat this bean it will cure you from drinking whiskey or other intoxicants, and it makes you saving and a better worker. I know that this is not true for I have seen one member who belongs to the Peyote Society drunk in Sioux City on whiskey and beer, but he is still using the mescal or peyote. Most all the mescal or peyote eaters go off and get drunk occasionally. There are a few who can't get drunk enough to suit them on the peyote. I have been to Sioux City with many of the Mescal or Peyote Society and got drunk with them. This is a common thing for them to do, because I have seen them do it. So when they say that it keeps them from drinking I know that that is a lie. I think maybe when they first start to use peyote they give up whiskey for a little while, but they soon want it again. They are also spending a great deal of their money on these meetings and to make the Society grow. Many of the mescal or peyote eaters use from sixty to one hundred dollars a night and mortgage their things to get money to feed the meeting. I think the leaders spend much of the money themselves. I know they collected lots of money to build a church and I gave most of my wages to them, but when they tried to find out what the treasurer did with the money it was all gone, so I would not give any more money. One of the leaders has sold a great amount of his land and it had all been spent to feed the meetings, or nearly all of it. One Indian who owed me some money gave the money to the leader of this Sacred Peyote Society, but I never saw a cent of it. I could see very plainly that the Indian leaders of this peyote religion are making their living off the ignorant Indians, so I know that it does not make them thrifty, and in fact if they keep on the way they are doing, it will not be very long until they are very poor. I am sure if you would look at the Agency records or ask the Agent he could tell you that that was so. Another thing that is very bad is that when a baby is born they give it some of this mescal or peyote tea to drink and this kills them. There are many babies die from that cause. One Indian's baby was given some mescal or peyote tea and died; he told me he gave it lots of medicine, by which

he meant the mescal or peyote tea, and I told him that was very wrong. Not only the babies but the sick people are given this mescal tea. They bring them into a house or their meeting place and all gather round him and feed him mescal or peyote. Last winter an Indian was carried into the mescal or peyote church and they kept him full of this mescal or peyote tea for about four days and nights, and then he staggered around the church rising to his feet and prayed and bid goodbye to his friends and said, "I am going to Jesus" and dropped down dead. The wife of one Indian was given too many doses of this peyote tea and died. A big strong man used lots of mescal or peyote and whiskey and died in two days. Another one used a lot of this mescal or peyote and he lost all his teeth. I am very sure that if I had kept on taking this mescal or peyote I would have died because I nearly died as it was. One time when I ate 36 beans I just felt as I could throw my arms out and my arms left me, went off in the air, and I felt I was all going to pieces. Everybody that I saw looked so much larger; their faces were large. I remember one time it was said in my hearing, "I saw Jesus' picture in the bean soup" meaning the mescal or peyote tea. Whenever they pray in the meeting they put the bean on a white cross or white napkin on the ground and they touch the bean first and then touch their lips and then they hold up their hands and rub their breasts and then pray to the mescal or peyote and then to God. They consecrate themselves to the medicine or the mescal or peyote. Whenever they eat these beans it makes you feel more whatever you are thinking about, (intensifies your thought). One man ate 75 beans or peyote and it killed him so they reduced the dose to 20 or 30 peyote or mescals. They are now getting afraid of that I think. Another thing that I noticed is that many are getting blind who use this medicine very much. When I was eating it, I just saw flames shooting out from my eyes, and I could not sleep or close my eyes. It kept me awake, affected my nerves, made me nervous.

The meetings are very immoral. I do not think I could tell all I have seen in writing, but I have seen many very bad things, that is, they look bad." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. G. A. WATERMULDER, Head of the Reformed Church Mission, Winnebago, Nebraska, where the peyote habit is especially in evidence.

"MESCAL"

ADDRESS BY REV. G. A. WATERMULDER

Although much has been said and written in recent years concerning the use of peyote among the Indians in the United States, so that it is quite generally known and deplored, yet it is very evident that we greatly need to know the real facts. Turning to the Congressional Record of last year, when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration, and the words "And Peyote" had been added to the Section, appropriating \$100,000 for the suppression of the liquor traffic, we find that our law makers treated the subject as a "joke," as a whimsical suggestion of some fanatical Indian enthusiast. This last year witnessed a repetition of the same indifferent consideration. It is very evident that we need to know thoroughly the chemical constituents, the therapeutic value, the physiological and psychical effects of the drug, if we hope effectually to help our Indian brother who today, groping under the

sad illusion of having found a panacea for all the ills of body and soul, is driven headlong into incompetency and final despair. He will not take kindly to the proffered help; he will reject the extended hand; he will spurn any superior knowledge on the subject; the habit has got him—but it becomes the duty of every government official, of every Christian worker, of every sincere friend of the Indian, to deal with it most intelligently, most effectively, and persistently.

Fortunately we are not left in the dark. The drug has for many years been most carefully and scientifically analyzed. Experiments have been made on both animals and human subjects. For years scientific articles have been published in medical journals. The United States Dispensatory, which is the legal and final authority on the chemical analysis of all drugs, contains a full and most illuminating article. The facts are, therefore, well known to the scientific man. They must also be made known to the public.

There are three names used: Anhalonium (Lewinii) is the botanical name; the name "peyote" appears to be of Mexican origin, while the term "mescal buttons" is the commercial designation given to it. The United States Dispensatory says: "Under the name 'peyote' are used in Mexico for narcotic purposes certain cacti whose tops have entered commerce under the name of 'mescal buttons.'" Every scientific description that I have read speaks of mescal and peyote as the same drug.

Peyote is a species of cactus grown in Northern Mexico. It is pear shaped. The top, about one and one-half inches in diameter, is cut off. It is very soft when moist; when dry becomes brittle and hard. It has a disagreeable taste and odor. It is sold by dealers largely in Laredo, Texas, who gather them for commercial purposes and sell them from \$3 to \$8 per thousand.

It is generally eaten in its dry, brittle state—five to fifty buttons taken in one night. It is also frequently made into a tea. In late years it is sometimes powdered and put in capsule form.

From time immemorial it was used for the purpose of producing intoxication by certain tribes in Mexico. From there it spread among the Kiowas of the Rio Grande, the Zunis in Arizona and others. It is worthy of note that in those early days it was always used for the purpose of producing intoxication at religious ceremonies. It is said that the Zuni Indians selected a few of their number—ten—to annually submit themselves to intoxication, but never habitually subjected themselves to frequent intoxication. As early as 1720, Spanish authorities prohibited its use and in the old Spanish Archives appears a record of prosecution against an Indian for having drunk peyote. In late years it gradually has spread to an increasing and alarming extent among the tribes of the United States.

Beginning in the South among the Comanches, Kiowas, Otoes, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and their neighbors, and spreading to the Northern tribes—the Omahas, Winnebagoes, Sioux, and others. Thousands of our Indians are now peyote drug fiends.

A chemical analysis has been made by the Pharmaceutical Institute of Leipzig, Germany, by Doctors Prentiss and Morgan of Washington, by Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia, and other prominent names given in the United States Dispensatory. The analysis shows that it contains a number of alkaloids (anahalonine, mescaline, anahalonidine, and a fourth, together with a resinous residue). These alkaloids are described by the highest legal chemical authority, "as powerful agents ranking in strength with some of our most potent drugs."

The chemists also state that physiological and psychical effects resemble such powerful and restricted drugs as *cannibis indica*, strychnine, and morphine, which, together with their derivatives, have been long restricted by law.

But not only has a careful chemical analysis been made, but experimentation has been performed on animals and on human subjects. As has already been said by Mr. Daiker, these authorities found that four to five mescal buttons (our Indians use from five to fifty or more) "produce a peculiar cerebral excitement attended with an extraordinary visual disturbance." One chemist states that it is undoubtedly due to its containing a strychnine radical that the intoxicant frequently endures and survives. There is uncertainty of gait like that caused by alcohol, tremors, wakefulness, in some cases nausea was produced. There was an over-estimation of time—minutes became hours and hours became long periods of time. Distances accentuated. There was nothing near. Objects close at hand appeared to be moving farther and farther away. There was a sense of dual existence. In some cases it produces a delirium. But the thing that fascinates and grips the imagination, producing unusual enjoyment, are the visual hallucinations, and the extraordinary effect upon the hearing. The habitué enjoys "a regular kaleidoscopic play of most wonderful colors, an incessant flow of vision, of infinite beauty, grandeur and variety." The effect produced upon the hearing makes "each note produced on the piano a center of a melody of other notes which appear to be surrounded by a halo of color, pulsating to the music." Herein it largely resembles *cannibis indica* and opium.

Some twenty years ago some of the leading drug manufacturing firms of our country as the Park Davis Company and the Merk Company, thinking that such a powerful drug might have some value as a remedial agent, began to prepare it in certain compounds. These preparations have been used to a slight extent in various forms of neurasthenia, hysteria, and also have been alleged to be useful in neuralgic and rheumatic affections. It should, however,

be carefully noted that it is no longer prepared. Dr. Francis, the chief chemist of the Park Davis Company says, "It is absolutely a dead issue so far as doctors and pharmacists are concerned. We no longer carry it in stock." Its remedial value has thus been pronounced very doubtful.

The scientific aspect of the subject is thus well summed up by Dr. Wiley, formerly chief chemist of the Agricultural Department, when he said "It is an evil and nothing but an evil." The injurious results that follow the habitual use of such a powerful and peculiar drug, are well expressed in a warning given by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, of Philadelphia. After careful experimentation, he said, "I predict a perilous reign of the mescal habit when this agent becomes obtainable. The temptation to call again, the enchanting magic, will be too much for some men to resist, after they have once set foot in this land of fairy colors, where there seems so much to charm and so little to excite horror or disgust."

Dealing as we are, then, with a most potent drug, producing such extraordinary psychical pleasures, need we wonder that it is eagerly sought, that its use is defended, and that it is playing havoc within the ranks of our Indian population, already so weakened by disease? Thousands of our most typical, virile and promising Indian youth, young men who have come from our Government schools, are the chief promoters. The old medicine superstitions no longer appeal. Here is something new and wonderful. It retains enough of the old to make it Indian and it adds what he has superficially learned and observed in our civilization and religion, and then appeals to his craving for leadership and to the lust of the flesh. And today we have a new semi-religious movement among our Indian people, with peyote as a fetish that is worshipped, as something extraordinarily supernatural.

In many tribes, meetings are now held every Saturday night, with all night sessions. The drug is passed in a dry form or as a tea. Everyone takes as much as he or she may desire. The small gourd rattle furnishes music. They sing their songs and make their speeches. Gradually the majority present become intoxicated, enjoying the incessant and wonderful flow of vision and music. In the morning and the next day the habitué slowly recovers from the inevitable reaction, and with no desire for a hard day's work.

The drug is also constantly used by many during the week. It has become a daily necessity. Although it has no remedial value and is most dangerous, it is used in all forms of sickness and disease for old and young, for the strong as well as the new born babe. And we need not wonder. The sick man wants something to rid him of the sense of pain. He wants his nerves benumbed. The white man administers his hypodermic doses; the Indian too enjoys alleviation from pain and stimulation of the nervous system. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of people have no doubt

gone out of the world in a very happy frame of mind through the use of opium, morphine, and *cannibis indica*. The Indian ignorantly takes his supernatural remedy by the pound instead of the grain, by the cupful instead of the drop or spoonful. Need we wonder that frequently an emaciated, anaemic, helpless, dying patient, will under this powerful stimulation rise from his bed, walk about, gather his relatives and friends together, make a most wonderful speech concerning the things he has seen, shake hands, bid farewell, and then lie down and in a few minutes depart? To the untutored it does seem supernatural and marvellous. Or need we wonder that infants troubled with common ailments of children, when given dose after dose of this drug, die of paralysis, digestive and nervous disturbances? And need we wonder that robust, sunny faces of young men as they come from school, soon become sallow, inky, sunken, and with their strong bodies debauched by the lust of the flesh, hastened to untimely graves? What can we expect of *any* people whose bodies have been enervated and ruined by *any* kind of a powerful drug? The American Indian in his present physical condition needs every ounce of physical strength to resist the ravages of disease.

We are now face to face with a question, "Is it a menace to progress? Is it merely a pleasurable indulgence? Shall we treat it with indifference, a joke of politicians? Or shall we treat it intelligently as men and women prompted by high patriotic and moral purposes? Of course, the Indian thinks it is his salvation. Never before has he seen such wonderful things. It is the herb that God gave for the weak. It is the magic wand that dispells the darkness and brings the light. But ah, what delusion! What fancied pictures! What castles in the air! Finally and certainly what a debauched, ruined life!

The Indian has also been taught that it is a cure for the liquor habit. And true it is, many drunkards have eaten mescal and have stopped drinking liquor, but mescal is merely a more dangerous and potent substitute. Many use both. Many mescal leaders are also our greatest drunkards. Says Dr. Richardson of Denver, concerning the relative effect of alcohol and mescal, "So far as its results upon the human economy are concerned, from a pathological standpoint, alcohol is altogether the safest and least harmful. The alcoholic subject may, by a careful system of dietetics, escape physical and mental weakness, but the mescal fiend travels to absolute incompetency. It is a vicious thing."

This Mohonk Conference, the Indian Department at Washington, and the nation at large has never taken a doubtful stand as to the influence of liquor on the Indian race, but here is an agent pronounced by the highest authorities as still more dangerous than liquor. The *Indian drunkard* has been taught and knows his danger and penalty; the *mescal eater* ignorant of the fatal conse-

quences of drug habits, gradually but certainly is going on to his destruction.

I feel confident that no intelligent person sincerely and seriously devoted to the cause of the American Indian would care to argue the question. We know that as a habit-forming drug, stealing upon the victim "like a thief in the night," it will clutch him in its deadly grip. Not only this generation, but the rising and future generation that will be the product of the physically, mentally, morally, weakened present must be considered. Immediate effects may in many cases be apparently slight on strong bodies as in the case of the alcohol drinker. But the normal functions of the body cannot be interfered with, day after day, week after week, year after year, without the most serious results. If the resistance to disease of the present generation is already alarmingly low, what shall we look for in the future?

About sixteen years ago Dr. and Mrs. Roe met a powerful and intellectual Indian of the Comanche tribe of the Southwest. They discussed with him the philosophy of the ancient Indian ideas until the question of mescal was introduced. This man had four sons and a daughter. The father and the four sons went into mescal, using it throughout the following sixteen years with constantly increasing amounts. The four sons were married early in life and had many children. There remains but one child of the offspring of those four men. All their infant children were treated with mescal. The daughter on the other hand became a Christian, induced her husband to become a Christian and now has a beautiful little family growing up around her. This is but one instance.

And then industrially it is bound to become one of the greatest hindrances to progress. Many are now working, but who will question the ultimate outcome of our industrial hopes for the Indian if this habit continues and increases? Beautiful buildings, houses, barns, farms, implements, will be of no avail unless we get at some of the problems that lie entrenched in the lives of so many of our promising Indians.

And what the effect mentally, when it destroys the power of concentration, logical thinking, strength of will and balanced judgment? Let some of our government schools superintendents, teachers and matrons, courageously tell the story of the mental depression and stupidity, the physical languor and destroyed aspirations, frequently found in their pupils who secretly use it.

And then when I think of the moral effects; when I know that it needs a clear mind, a strong will, a pure imagination to build character; when I know how hard it is to resist temptation, and aim high under the best of circumstances; and then when I think of our Indian people becoming morally strong with the use of a habit-forming, physically weakening, will-relaxing, imagination-exciting drug, I stand appalled and cry, "O God, we will fail in all

our work unless thou dost set these men free—and then they shall be free indeed—and use us to set them free.”

We need definite federal legislation to stop this drug at the border. We need definite federal legislation to stop it in interstate commerce. We need state legislation to stop it in the states. We need power given to the Indian Department to deal with it as it deals with liquor. We need this Conference and all the organizations it represents, and all the influence it can exert to get back of it.

I close with an appeal from the oldest daughter of Quanah Parker. Quanah Parker was the great chief of the Comanches, who also became the great mescal chief of Oklahoma, and who has so long and so astutely handled Washington legislation. Mrs. Cox, his oldest daughter, recently before a large audience testified as follows: “My father was the great chief of the Comanches. He ate mescal. He asked me to eat mescal. I did eat for a few years, but I gave it up. I followed a better road. I told my father to give it up. He would not. He became very sick. I got six doctors to examine him. They all said it is because he ate mescal. I again asked him to stop, but no. He would not. Two years he was sick. He became paralyzed. One day he said he would again go to a mescal meeting, far away. He took a train. He attended the meeting. The next day while coming home on the train he collapsed and he died. O friends, I ask you to stop that medicine, mescal.”

Shall we answer that heart cry of the daughter of Quanah Parker? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The topics of the evening are now open for discussion by members of the conference.

REV. R. D. HALL: In my work among Indian young men, I found the peyote drug habit so strongly entrenched that I went into the thing quite fully. The purpose of this discussion tonight is this: *We want this business outlawed*, classified with liquor. We want the peyote business controlled by adequate legislation. I am not so much interested in saving those who are already habitual users of the mescal bean as I am in saving the coming generation, for the use of peyote is spreading every year. We want the Christian sentiment of this great body, which has so much to do with the moulding of Indian legislation, to be expressed in no uncertain terms in their resolutions pertaining to peyote and its use. I do hope there will be no question about definite action here, and that we will demand that the drug be outlawed. We want your cooperation. I am not speaking as a mere sentimentalist in connection with the Indian work, for you must realize this evil has great bearing upon the practical work which must be done.

In order to be posted on the matter, I put myself in the hands of

Dr. R. P. Angier of Yale University, and took some of this peyote for experimental purposes. Previous to this time I had had all the scientific experiments tried on me necessary to find out the reaction. I took six buttons or beans of peyote in all. I can confirm all that has been said here; I went around to the reservations collecting evidence, and have much of it here. My experience has proved that this is a powerful drug, also that everything that has been stated here is absolutely true, because I went through a similar experience myself. The first result was dizziness; then nausea; then lapses of memory—I would forget they were talking to me and wake up with a consciousness that something had been said but I did not know what. I began to tremble and with difficulty to stand. When I wanted to use my hands later on, my mind was active but when I tried to move my fingers they did not respond easily to the mental suggestion. I was feverish, and later, although I was sleeping in a cold room with the wind blowing in so that it was really cold and would have been uncomfortable under other circumstances, I found the blanket too warm. Coming back on the train, I was wide awake and the power of concentration accentuated, for I was reading a book and the brakeman had to come and suggest that I get out as the train had been in the Grand Central station several minutes. My eyes smarted, and I also found my vision was unsteady. I found I had no taste when I attempted to eat. I was very optimistic. I tried to write a letter but found I could not control my pen.

It is very important that we be strongly impressed with the fact that we are dealing with a vital matter. I am ashamed to say it is our "educated" Indian young men too often who are carrying on this peyote traffic and cult. It is essential that you come to our aid in the fight against it, for it will mean much to the salvation of the coming generation that this drug be outlawed. (Applause.)

MRS. WALTER C. ROE: As I came East from Madison, Wisconsin, I questioned with myself all the way, "Dare I stand up before the people and say what is in my mind to say about this terrible drug?" I now want to say, I dare not do otherwise than speak out what is in my heart. I dare not go back to those Indians, and meet what I shall have to see, without lifting my voice in behalf of those people whom I love. For sixteen or seventeen years my husband and I have watched this thing, with eyes that have been filled with sorrow; I have stood beside the bedside and heard the dying words of many of these Indian people, and I know whereof I speak. In our mission church at Colony, we have a group of beautifully trained children, and a large group of conservative old people, who are hard to reach, who stand firm for Christianity, but the very body of our church is gone,—these young mothers, these young fathers, are gone. I lift my voice, therefore, in behalf of these

Indian young people, and I ask you for legislation which will cut out this drug by federal action at the Mexican border, and for state legislation which will control it in our own land. I ask that proper instruction be given in all our government schools, and that the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Indian Office at Washington shall take steps to save the *lives* of these, their wards, even though their property may be lost. Their very souls are in question, and I plead with you men and women of this great, important, and influential Conference to lift your voices to save the youth or the Indian race from this dangerous drug. (Applause.)

REV. DR. EDWARD ASHLEY: There are other phases connected with this question of peyote that this audience ought to know something about. In the line of my duty last summer I have come in contact with this question among the Sioux. It is only recently that the mescal bean has been introduced among the Sioux, but I want to tell you for ten years past all through the Sioux country in South Dakota conditions have been going on and on leading up to the right condition for the introduction of the mescal bean, and it has now come. It comes through religious ceremonies, and I am sad to say that the religious aspect has been adopted through the influence and suggestion of a returned student living in Nebraska. The other day on Pine Ridge, in the exercise of my duty, I listened to stories of how he had received \$100 which had been raised to be used in interceding for assistance at Washington. I also saw what purported to be a petition from that society of Bennett County, South Dakota, asking that they be allowed to use peyote, and that they should not be interfered with or prosecuted or arrested. I am happy to say the Indian Office did not acquiesce, as I saw their answer. The authorities say they desire to put down this evil, but are up against the fact that it is a religious institution and comes within the Constitution of the United States. Wherefore, because of the suggestion of a returned student, said to be a member of the league of some fraternity of the state of Nebraska, the case looks to me like that of a second Benedict Arnold—a returned student coming back and betraying his people, the whole Indian people. I hope it will be put down. (Applause.)

The conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Fifth Session*

Friday, October 16, 1914, 9 45 A.M

THE CHAIRMAN: For this morning's program the subject is, "The Indian as a Human Being; His Status and Needs in Home, School and Religious Life". The first speaker is MR. ARTHUR C. PARKER,† State Archaeologist of New York and Secretary of the Society of American Indians.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

ADDRESS BY MR. ARTHUR C. PARKER

It is not necessary that I should remind you that in all stages of civilized society the great bulwarks safeguarding its integrity are interdependent and that thus the social, economic, intellectual and religious condition of a people depends very largely upon their legal condition, and vice versa. But I do wish to emphasize that in our attempt to civilize and assimilate the Indian we have neglected to afford him one of the most vital rights of mankind,—that of a definite legal status. This has never been determined but the Indian has been variously called a "domestic subject"¹ and "a perpetual inhabitant with diminutive rights."² The Indian as neither citizen, alien nor foreigner has occupied and now occupies a precarious position in our national life. We legislate for him and then tell him his fate is in his own hands. In the same breath we also tell him three other things—"that he cannot sell his own land, or use his own money held by the Government and that he is not subject to taxation as other able bodied men are."³ We rely upon religion and education coupled with industry to accomplish the sought-for ends with the Indian, but until there is provided a definition of the Indians' legal status in their various groups and bands, human beings will continue to go to waste, and religion, education and industry will suffer for lack of appreciation. These civilizing forces will fall as seed upon ground fertile only in spots. Shining examples of religious and educational training will continue to be the exception rather than the usual.

*The Fifth Session, relating entirely to Indian affairs, is inserted here, instead of in consecutive order, for the convenience of the reader—ED.

†Mr. Parker spoke at an earlier session, but his address is printed here because of its close relation to the general topic of the session—ED.

1. Attorney General Cushman. 2. U. S. vs Bridleman, 7 Fed. Rept, 898, et seq. Gibbons vs Ogden, 7 Wheaton, 189; etc. 3. F. A. McKenzie, *The Indian*, p. 30.

Definite legal status in an organized community has an important psychological value. It is for want of this subtle psychological asset that the Indian suffers most grievously. It is the root of most of his material evils. Witness the change that has come upon the red man of the plains in the last fifty years. The old initiative and independence have been crushed out of the masses, and in spirit "the poor Indian" is low indeed. Whatever Sitting Bull as a man may have been, he expressed a great thought when he exclaimed to Gen. Miles, "God Almighty made me; God Almighty did not make me an agency Indian, and I'll fight and die before any white man can make me an agency Indian." By this he expressed his horror of surrendering a known status for one he could not know. In his native state each Indian knew what his status was. It was a part of his intellectual life to know it. He felt himself a man and a master. In his present state wherein he is ruled over and thought for he feels himself the insignificant non-represented minor and ward that he is. Not knowing what his rights are or what will come next he becomes chronically despondent, careless and often degenerate. Out of an undefined status and the resultant uncertainty springs the host of evils deplored by the church, the school, and the Federal departments. These evils are treated with much solicitude by the moral and social forces of the country but no one seems to recognize a deeper lying cause. Congress, urged by many petitions, steps in and legislates upon the symptoms of the disorder, failing likewise to see a cause beyond.

In my various writings I have frequently used the term, "the legal status of the Indian," but I find that this term is not well understood by some quite familiar with legal expressions. One newspaper editor misquotes and even mildly scores me for "urging the legal status of the Indian," thinking I mean immediate citizenship. For the sake of clearness, therefore, let me present my definition:

The rights and duties, the privileges and restraints that an inhabitant of an organized community may enjoy or be obligated to by the laws of the country, and that he with the citizen body and the courts clearly knows, constitute his legal status.

There is confusion and anarchy if there be no definition of what those rights and obligations are. There is demoralization and misery where there is incomplete or obscure definition, for then the very foundation of society is insecure. The feeling of insecurity as a conscious or subconscious factor means the coming of all evils. The reservation Indian has his heart strangled by the fears that beset him. He does not know what will happen next. He knows that something is being done to him and perhaps for him, but having little or no part in its initiation his interest may be only a morbid one. He cannot help matters one way or the other. This produces a paralysis of every virile mental force. It is ap-

pallingly true that the majority of reservation Indians do not know what their rights are or where or how to turn in case of difficulty. A well educated Indian woman in pleading for her tribe three years ago said: "My people do not know when they are citizens and when they are not. They send word to the Department, 'We want thus and so' and the Department sends word back, 'You are citizens of the United States, we cannot do that for you.' Then they send for something else and word comes back, 'You are wards of the Government, we cannot grant you that.' Now in what position do we stand?" Hundreds of concrete examples might be cited. Out of this uncertainty a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness arises and with it, all too often, ambition dies. The people then only improvidently drift through existence greedily grasping at every chance claim or snatching at every pittance meted out. The sense of thrift and attainment is thus destroyed. Religion and education cannot be appreciated by a desponding people. Civilization conveying its religion and education must be consistent in the acts it performs and with other things provide a legal status for its wards, or hopelessness will continue and faith languish. Let me then say to the conscientious friends of the Indian that *a determination of the Indians' legal status is by far the most important matter affecting the welfare of the red race in the United States today.* This fact is plainly pointed out in Professor McKenzie's book, "The Indian,"¹—a work that I urge every student of Indian affairs to study with care. It is by far the most lucid analysis of Indian matters now in print.

Reservation Indians are broadly divisible into two grades—the pure ward and the allotted citizen-ward. The allotted Indian having his limited patent to a parcel of land is theoretically a "taxed Indian." The chances are, however, that he pays no taxes and has but a hazy notion of what true citizenship means. A further review of the classes of Indians reveals the non-taxed ward, the taxed allottee, the more taxed allottee, the non-citizen Indian and the citizen Indian. Out of this classification through natural and legal exigencies, all sorts of combinations arise to make definite status a difficult thing to determine. The result is confusion and endless litigation, to the congestion of the Indian Office and the delight of the claim lawyer. Another view of the inequality of status is shown by a survey of the Indians in the various states. Indians of like capacity and situation, as has already been pointed out by Professor McKenzie, in Oklahoma are citizens, in New York non-citizens. Allottees in Nebraska are citizens, in Wyoming non-citizens. The allotted Indian may or not be a citizen according to the state in which he dwells, notwithstanding Federal control over all. In the state of Wisconsin citizen Indians are wards of the

1. Privately printed by F. A. McKenzie, Ohio State University 1908.

nation, in Maine of the state; in New York Indians are wards of both state and nation. In North Carolina 7,000 Indians are citizens of the state and not of the nation. But whatever the Government may intend by citizenship to the Indian, the Indian allottee usually finds the name a mere fiction and that although a citizen of the United States he has a Federal agent ruling his destiny. In many cases this is most humiliating, as I might illustrate by examples.

A consideration of these data reveals the significant fact that *no series of definite grades have ever been established that in a uniform way will lift the Indian from a state of pure wardship to complete citizenship*. The lack of a definite series of steps has led to much miserable confusion and prevented any true freedom. In realization of these facts the Denver platform of the Society of American Indians states:

"Of all the needs of the Indian one stands out as primary and fundamental. As long as the Indian has no definite or assured status in the nation, so long as the Indian does not know who and what he is and what his privileges and duties are, there can be no hope of substantial progress for our race. With one voice we declare our first and chief request is that Congress shall provide the means for a careful and wise definition of Indian status through the prompt passage of the Carter Code Bill."

This paragraph re-affirmed by the Madison Conference affords an idea of what the Indians themselves through their leaders and their closer friends think of the matter. The Carter Code Bill, here mentioned is one introduced by the Society of American Indians in 1912, its operative passage being as follows:

"That the President of the United States be and he hereby is directed to appoint a Commission of three men qualified by legal and sociological training as well as by acquaintance with Indian affairs and needs, to study the laws governing and the circumstances affecting the various tribes and groups and classes of Indians and to report"—in a given period—"a codified law determining the status of the Indians of the United States in accordance with existing legislation and the future best interests of these natives."

It is my belief that the report of such a commission would be most illuminating. The draft of a codified law that it would submit, once passed by Congress, would provide the means for bringing the Indian up definitely step by step until he entered the status of complete citizenship. It would work to determine the status of the various groups in such a manner that every Indian might know, and every citizen might know, what the rights and duties of every Indian were, without resorting to litigation about it or appealing to the Interior Department. Citizenship would be the goal ahead; there would be nothing behind. This would then be a spur to endeavor and the road to citizenship would be definite and secure.

In passing, it may be said that if a revised code and the requirements of the bill could be handled by a private commission, or one such as suggested by Senator Robinson or Professor Moorehead,

the boon would be most welcome. It would seem, however, that a special commission of well equipped, highly paid men, appointed by the President, would have the greater weight with Congress. We only ask, however, that the thing be done.

Professor McKenzie in the *Journal of Race Development*¹ points out the need of the principles for which we have argued and presents a table suggesting a plan for dividing the Indians into grades. He suggests, for the purpose of outlining his plan that the Indians who are wards be classed as, 1st, tribal wards holding communal land, and, 2d, allotted wards holding land in severalty and having allotted trust funds. Over the communal Indian ward there would be Governmental control of land and trust funds through agency administration. The allotted ward would have Federal supervision of land contracts and trust-fund expenditures. The second class of grades would be the citizen-ward and the full citizen Indian. The citizen ward would hold his land in fee, have control of his own funds and have a legal standing in the courts. The Government would have a review of his contracts prior to signature, or within three months thereafter. The citizen Indian would have all privileges and disabilities of the rank. This plan which is not at all revolutionary is used only as a suggestion for arranging the series of grades, without arguing the adoption of it without further consideration. A commission once appointed might hit upon some other happy plan of similar nature as a working basis for a better grasp of the situation.

In the working out of the plan as suggested, every Indian of every grade would know exactly what his legal status was, what his rights, duties, responsibilities and restrictions were. He would know how he might relieve himself of his restrictions and disadvantages and step upward to a higher grade and finally into the status of a contributing, sustaining, positive element of the country in which he lived. The courts, the Federal Indian Bureau and the citizens of the country would have full knowledge of what a classified Indian was and how to deal with him. The feeling of certain status, of legal security, the knowledge of a definite goal ahead would afford the culture-forcing incentive most necessary to bring the Indian into our national life as a healthful, efficient factor.

This plan provides for a new epoch in Indian affairs. Once the legal status is determined and a series of grades established, there will be a more rapid transition from lower to higher stages. Justice will then become a more common matter and civilizing agencies profit by the happier minds of the people. The path to freedom and self-government will be paved and we shall mark the passing of "ward" and "subject" and ultimately give to the Indian now possessing "diminutive rights" every right that the nation vouchsafes to its sovereign people. (Applause.)

1. Vol. III, No. 2, 1912. The American Indian of Today and Tomorrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. HENRY ROE CLOUD, of Winnebago, Nebraska. Mr. Cloud is a Winnebago Indian and a graduate of Yale University and Auburn Theological Seminary, entering upon a career of medical missionary work among his own people.

EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

ADDRESS BY MR. HENRY ROE CLOUD

Education is for life,—life in the workaday world with all its toil, successes, discouragements and heartaches. Education unrelated to life is of no use. “Educare”—education is the leading-out process of the young until they know themselves what they are best fitted for in life. Education is for complete living; that is, the educational process must involve the heart, head and hand. The unity of man is coming to the forefront in the thought of the day. We cannot pay exclusive attention to the education of one part and afford to let the other part or parts suffer. Education is for service; that is, the youth is led to see the responsibilities as well as the privileges of his education so that he lends a helping hand to those who are in need. Indian education is no exception to these general principles.

The educational needs of the Indian can be best seen in the light of his problem,—he has before him a twofold problem, the white man’s problem and his own peculiar racial problem. The problem confronting the white child is the Indian’s problem for, if the goal for the Indian is citizenship, it means sharing the responsibilities, as well as the opportunities, of this great Republic.

The task of educating the American young is a stupendous one. The future welfare of the American nation depends upon it. Children everywhere must be brought into an appreciation of the great fundamental principles of the Republic as well as the full realization of its dangers. It required a long, toilsome march of peoples beyond the sea to give us our present-day civilization. Trial by jury came by William the Conqueror. America’s freedom was at the cost of centuries of struggle. America’s democracy is the direct and indirect contribution of every civilized nation. The wide, open door of opportunity was paid for by untold sacrifice of life and labors. It involves the story of the sturdy and brave frontiersmen, the gradual extension of transportation facilities westward, the rise of cities on the plains. So great and rapid has been this progress that already the cry of the conservation of our natural resources is ringing in our ears.

To lead the white youth of the land into an appreciation of the history of American institutions, into their meaning for this generation and the generation to come, so that somewhere in the course

of his education he feels possessed of some permanent interest which commands all his ambitions and devotion, is no small task.

Along with these great blessings there are the national dangers stalking through the land. I need but mention them.

The stupendous economic development has meant the amassing of great and unwieldy wealth into few hands. It has meant the creation of a wide gap between the rich and the poor. The industrial order has been revolutionized by the introduction of machinery. There has now grown up the problem of the relation of labor and capital. Our railroad strikes and mine wars are but symptoms of this gigantic problem. Immigration and the consequent congested districts in our cities has put the controlling political power in the hands of the "boss." There is the tenement problem—physical degeneracy and disease. It requires no prophet to foresee the increase of these problems and dangers owing to the war now raging across the sea. The desolation of those countries, the inevitable tax burdens, will mean an even greater influx of immigration into this country.

There is the problem of "fire water," that has burned out the souls of hundreds of thousands, to say nothing of the greater suffering of wives, mothers and children. There is the big national problem of race prejudice. Is America truly to be the "melting pot" of the nations?

These are the problems confronting the white youth, and, I repeat, they are the Indian's problems also.

Besides this, the Indian has his own peculiar race problem to meet. There is the problem of home education. Education in the home is almost universally lacking. The vast amount of education which the white child receives in the home—a great many of them cultured and Christian homes, where, between the age of ten and fourteen, the child reads book after book on travel, biography and current events—goes to make up for the deficiencies of the public schools. The Indian youth goes back into homes that have dominant interests altogether different from what he has been taught at school. I have seen many a young man and young woman bravely struggle to change home conditions in order to bring them into keeping with their training and they have at last gone down! The father and the mother have never been accustomed, in the modern sense, to a competitive form of existence. The father has no trade or vocation. The value of a dollar, of time, of labor is unknown in that home. The parents have not the insight into educational values to appreciate the boy's achievements and to inspire him further. What is to be done under such circumstances? In many cases he finds himself face to face with a shattered home. The marriage conditions, the very core of his social problem, stare him in the face. Many a young man and woman, realizing these home conditions, have gone away to es-

tablish a home of their own. As soon as the thrifty Indian accumulates a little property his relatives and tribesmen, in keeping with the old custom of communal ownership of property, come and live at his expense. There was virtual communal ownership of property in the old days under the unwritten laws of hospitality, but the omission, in these days, of that corresponding equal distribution of labor plays havoc with the young Indian homes.

The Indian has his own labor problem. He has here a race inertia to overcome. The sort of labor he is called upon to do these days is devoid of exploit. It is a change from the sporadic effort to that of routine labor calling for the qualities of self-control, patience, steady application and a long look ahead. Shall he seek labor outside the reservation? Shall he work his own allotment? What bearing has his annuity money and his lease money on his labor problem? Does it stifle effort on his part? Does it make him content to eke out a living from year to year without labor? If he works how is he to meet the ubiquitous grafter with his insistence upon chattel mortgages? How is he to avoid the maelstrom of credit into which so many have fallen?

The health problem of the Indian race may well engage the entire attention and life-work of many young Indian men and women. What about the seventy to eighty thousand Indians suffering now from trachoma? What about thirty thousand tubercular Indians? Is this due to housing conditions?

There is the legal problem to which special attention was just called. Is the Indian a ward of the Government, or a citizen? What are his rights and duties? His legal problem involves his land problem. Ought he to pay taxes? Will he ever secure his rights and be respected in the local courts unless he pays taxes? Is not this question most fundamental?

Shall the Indian youth ignore the problem of religion? Of the many religions on the reservation which one shall energize his life? Shall it be the sun dance, the medicine lodge, the mescal, or the Christian religion? Shall he take in all religions, as so many do? What do these different religions stand for?

There is finally the whole problem of self-support. If he is to pursue the lines of agriculture he must study the physical environment and topography of his particular reservation, for these in a large measure control the fortunes of his people. If the reservation is mountainous, covered with timber, he must relate his study to it. If it is a fertile plain, it means certain other studies. It involves the study of soils, of dry farming, irrigation, of stock-farming, of stock and sheep raising. The Indian must conquer nature if he is to achieve his race adaptation.

My friends, here are problems of unusual difficulty. In the face of these larger problems—city, state and national, as well as the Indian's own peculiar race problem, and the two are inextricably

interwoven—what shall be the Indian's preparation to successfully meet them? What sort of an education must he have? Miss Kate Barnard told us something of the problem as it exists in Oklahoma. Into this maelstrom of political chicanery, of intrigue and corrupting influences of great vested interests shall we send Indian youth with only an eighth grade education? In vast sections of that Oklahoma country ninety per cent of the farms of white men were under mortgage last year. It means that even they with their education and inheritance were failing. Well might one rise up like Jeremiah of old and cry out, "My people perish for lack of knowledge,"—knowledge of the truth as it exists in every department of life,—this can truly make us free.

The first effort, it seems to me, should be to give as many Indians as are able, all the education that the problems he faces clearly indicate he should have. This means all the education the grammar schools, secondary schools and colleges of the land can give him. This is not any too much for the final equipment for the leaders of the race. If we are to have leaders that will supply the disciplined mental power in our race development, they cannot be merely grammar school men. They must be trained to grapple with these economic, educational, political, religious and social problems. They must be men who will take up the righteous cause among their people, interpret civilization to their people, and restore race confidence, race virility. Only by such leaders can race segregation be overcome. Real segregation of the Indian consists in segregation of thought and inequality of education.

We would not be so foolish as to demand a college education for every Indian child in the land irrespective of mental powers and dominant vocational interests, but on the other hand we do not want to make the mistake of advocating a system of education adapted only to the average Indian child. If every person in the United States had only an eighth grade education with which to wrestle with the problems of life and the nation, this country would be in a bad way. We would accelerate the pace in the Government grammar schools of such Indian youth as show a capacity for more rapid progress. For the Indian of exceptional ability, who wishes to lay his hand upon the more serious problems of our race, the industrial work however valuable in itself, necessarily retards him in the grammar school until he is man-grown. He cannot afford to wait until he is twenty-four or twenty-five to enter the high school. This system is resulting in an absolute block upon the entrance of our ablest young people into the schools and colleges of the land which stand open to them. There are hundreds of the youth of the Oriental and other native races in our colleges. As an Indian it is impossible for me to believe that the fact that there are almost no Indians under such training today is due to a failure of my race in mental ability. The difficulty lies in the system rather than in

the race. According to the census of the last decade, there were three hundred thousand college men and women to ninety millions of people in the United States, or one to every three hundred. In the same proportion there should be one thousand college Indian men and women in the United States, taking as a total population three hundred thousand Indians. Allowing for racial handicaps let us say there should be at least five hundred instead of one thousand Indian college men and women. Actually there is not one in thirty thousand and most of these in early life escaped the retarding process in the Government schools.

This is not in any way disparaging the so-called industrial education in the Government Indian grammar schools, such as Carlisle, Haskell, Chilocco. Education—as education that seeks to lead the Indians into outdoor vocational pursuits, is most necessary. Our Government Indian Bureau feels the need for vocational training among the Indians, and I am very glad that it does. Productive skill we must have if we are to live on in this competitive age. However, in this policy of industrial training for the Indian youth, the Government should not use the labor of the students to reduce the running expenses of the different schools, but only where the aim is educational, to develop the Indian's efficiency, and mastery of the trade. Recent Congressional charges of shifting students from one trade to another so that they master no trade have been made and the charges sustained. I worked two years in turning a washing machine in a Government school to reduce the running expenses of the institution. It did not take me long to learn how to run the machine and the rest of the two years I nursed a growing hatred for it. Such work is not educative. It begets a hatred for work, especially where there is no pay for such labor. The Indian will work under such conditions because he is under authority, but the moment he becomes free he is going to get as far as he can from it. I, personally, would hail the day with joy when the Government Indian schools can redeem the moral discipline of even drudgery work connected with the schools by some system of compensation of value received for work expended. Others before me, such as Dr. Walter C. Roe, have dreamed of founding a Christian, educational institution for developing a strong native, Christian leadership for the Indians of the United States. I, too, have dreamed. For, after all, it is Christian education that is going to solve these great problems confronting the Indian. Such an institution is to recognize the principle that man shall not live by bread alone and yet at the same time to show the dignity and divineness of toil by the sweat of one's brow. The school is to teach self-support. The Indian himself must rise up and do for himself by the help of Almighty God. It is to be Christian education because every problem that confronts us is in the last analysis, a moral problem. In the words of Sumner, "Capital is another

word for self denial." The gift of millions for Indian education is the peoples' self denial. In whatever activity we may enter for life work, we must pay the price of self-control if we are to achieve any degree of success. The moral qualities therefore are so necessary for our successful advance. Where shall we look for our final authority in these moral questions? We must look to nothing this side of the "Great Spirit" for our final authority. Having then brought into the forefront of the Indian race men of sound morality, intellectual grasp and productive skill, we shall have leaders who are like the great oak tree on the hill. Storm after storm may break upon them, but they will stand because they are deeply rooted, and the texture of their soul is strong. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There will now be a number of ten-minute addresses by veteran missionaries in various Indian fields. The first speaker is REV. THOMAS L. RIGGS, of the American Missionary Association, Oahe, North Dakota, a member of the well known Riggs family of missionaries and a veteran in work among the Sioux.

MY FRIEND THE INDIAN

REMARKS BY REV. THOMAS L. RIGGS, D.D.

I think that my friend, Mr. James McLaughlin, was wonderfully happy in the selection of the title to his book, published a year or so ago,—“My Friend, the Indian.” That word “friend” has a very distinctive meaning. I heard here the other day “next friend,” and I have heard it before; now just what “next friend” means I do not know. I never heard of it in the language of the plains. There is no single equivalent for it, no combination for it, and no meaning in it. Friend is enough for me. The word “friend” in Dakota has, perhaps, a different significance in its usual usage than it does with us. “Kola” is friend; “kolawaye” is “I make him my friend;” “kolamaye” is “He makes me his friend.” The word “kola” means to a man more than the name for any other relation in life. Now, my friends, that means more than the relationship between a man and an animal; it is a relation between two human beings. I speak very strongly, but I am almost ready to make the assertion that we never have treated the Indian as a fellow human being. You may question that. I would not be at all surprised if you did, but it is a fact. You never have put it boldly; I am not going to shirk the responsibility and lay it on to officers of the Government in any way whatsoever; *we* never have treated the Indian as a fellow human being. Why, only a few weeks ago, one of our local newspapers had a long editorial, berating the Honorable Commissioner of Indian affairs for an order recently issued which would prevent the native dances in native dress at towns around the reservations. It was an infringement of

the rights of the white man. They wanted the Indians there as a spectacle. Men have gone out on our reservations and drafted Indians for their Wild West shows under authority. I have known missionaries to come out, who would look at a girl's clothes and handle her beads and ask her how much this cost and how much that cost, and, "Won't you make me one?" and, "Give me this." It would make a man mad. But it was usually very young missionaries or those who were new. They learned better after a while. I have also had representatives of our missionary societies make the same bad break. I went out over thirty years ago, to White River, to put up an out-station. A representative of our Society came, not that he would be especially helpful to me, but because he wanted to see the Indian and gather matter for a public address. One of the very first things he did was to go to some Indian graveyards near by, and he asked me very seriously whether it would not be allowable for him to dig into a grave, to which I replied, "Do as you like." But I added that I did not think it would be healthy for either him or myself and that if he was going to do it, I would get out.

One of the most remarkable letters I ever saw on the field was sent by an allotting agent to his surveyor. The issue that was up was the allotment to an Indian who objected to the allotment which was given. He had built a house and had been living in it for years and years that faced right on the middle of a section line, and he wanted his allotment to take that in, to take what was in front of him as well as the river back of him. But no, that was a good site for a government school, and so the agent gave instructions that it should be allotted for school purposes and the line cut right across Elkhead's front door. He was disgusted and fought it like a good fellow, and this letter of which I speak was from the allotting agent in which he spoke of the man and said if he did not like it, he could lump it. These facts I am telling you are superficial, yet they indicate absolutely the position we have held toward the Indian. We have never felt toward him as toward a human being. The Indian gets around it very philosophically by saying, "Oh, he is a white man and does not know any better." (Laughter.)

A few years ago our South Dakota State Historical Society was undertaking the collection of some sketches of prominent Indians and the work was turned over to a man, a friend of mine, who was very much interested in Indian matters. The work was to give short sketches of Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Crazy Horse, etc. This man did it very well, but was uncertain about some things. We were talking about one of the sketches and he asked me to come in and look them over, which I did; they were in proof sheet form, and I read them over, using a blue pencil here and there—not much, but just a little—because, of course, my superior knowledge enabled me to revise his work. And I asked him if those were all, to

which he replied that they were not, as some had gone to the printer's. He said that he had the copy, and so I sat down—I do not remember which one it was, but to one I took a decided exception, because I said it was not fair, that it did not do the Indians justice. "You make him a better man than the Indian is, you regard him as a stronger and more influential man." I said, "I am not willing to have them go on record as true sketches." He was quite surprised, and said, "These are in the printer's hands; I don't see what I can do, and besides no one but you and I will ever know any better." The Indian has never had his own historian. He never has had a sympathetic writer back of him. I can remember when I was a small boy I used to read American history of the time of Miles Standish and John Smith, and was intensely interested at the wonderful stories, regarding the Indians, the battles that were fought, and when I was about twelve years old the realization came to me, "These boys that I have been playing with ever since I was a baby are Indians," and that much of the American history that pertained to the Indian facts was a lie. I had no more use for it and it was not until I was fully prepared for college that I ever undertook to look again into American history. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. BERNARD STRASSMAIER, Catholic Mission, Standing Rock Agency, Fort Yates, North Dakota, who has spent twenty-seven years in the Indian field.

THE INDIAN OF STANDING ROCK AGENCY

REMARKS BY REV. BERNARD STRASSMAIER, O. S. B.

About a month ago at Standing Rock Agency an Indian fair was held. The exhibits there proved to be objects of much admiration. The products of the farms were exclusive proofs of the Indians' industries. The bead and the porcupine work of the women were exquisite articles of artistic designs and the needle and crochet work of the young girls items of much comment and praise. This evidently showed that the Indian, when wisely guided and encouraged in his work, proved himself a useful member of society. One feature in this splendid exhibition was especially praiseworthy; viz., the total absence of Indian costumes and the time honored custom of the old fashioned dances and other bewildering performances. This, of course, caused great disappointment among the Indians and whites, who heretofore could not conduct any fairs or other celebrations without the additional Indian dance. However, it was the heart's delight of the Missionary and all well-thinking white people. One of the worst evils on an Indian reservation is the continuance of the Indians' customs. The sooner they are abolished the better for the Indians.

The first of December, 1886, will be forever memorable in my mind owing to the fact that on that date I first entered into the field of my activity as an Indian Missionary. On my arrival at Standing Rock Agency, I found the great chiefs, Sitting Bull, Gall, Rain in the Face, John Grass and Mad Bear still alive in their war-like glory. However, these gifted men of the red type soon passed away with the sole exception of John Grass, who now is old and feeble. They have passed in the great Beyond as good Christians, Sitting Bull alone excepted. He was killed by the Indian Police, 43 policemen being opposed by 150 fanatical ghost dancers, December 15, 1890. Sitting Bull's body rests in the military cemetery at Fort Yates in a lonely grave, deserted and forgotten even by those who were once near and dear to him. The six Indian policemen, however, received a grand funeral accompanied by all the military and a great concourse of people and every year on Memorial Day a magnificent procession is conducted to their silent graves where speeches are made and prayers are offered in behalf of their departed souls.

December 17, 1890, is dear to all the Christian Indians as on that memorable occasion the backbone of paganism received its final blow. Since then the Indians wonderfully advanced in the ways of civilization and Christianity. The Sioux Indian is a man of marked features, strong constitution and very independent. For many years he strongly adhered to his Indian practices and the medicine man was held in high esteem. To convince him of the necessity of the Christian religion was a matter of great efforts on the part of the Missionary and by God's divine grace finally succeeded. Many of the Indians are now Christians and faithful in the practices of their religion.

The greatest difficulty we experience is with our youth. Having finished the term of their school days either on or off the reservation, these boys and girls usually return to their native homes; there, not finding sufficient occupation, commence to lead an inactive life. Soon the practical lessons in industries, such as farming, blacksmithing, carpentering, etc., are forgotten and also a nausea for religion and higher ideals is experienced. This is followed by a great desire for pleasures, amusements and enjoyment. The little money they now and then earn is quickly squandered by just such pleasures, and when their period of married life commences they are without resources and helps from anywhere. This works great havoc at present among our younger Indians and there is grave danger for the future. Physically strong, but morally weak, how will he solve the problem of life?

A matter of grave importance for our Sioux Indian will be the use of his Indian rights. Sooner or later he must become a patent Indian in fee simple and be an American citizen. We have had some sad experiences already and a few of our best educated

Indians are now penniless and I might also say without a home. This is an affair for the most sober and serious mind to consider. The Government as such deserves great credit for her good intentions. She does all she can to advance the Indian in agriculture and other industries. The Indian, however, misunderstanding her noble endeavors frequently does not respond to her aims and ends and nothing is accomplished. The better Indian on Standing Rock Reservation, however, has a comfortable home and as a rule leads a happy and contented life. His tastes are few and are easily satisfied, for being a child of nature, he cares little for the better refinements of life.

The life of an Indian and his missionary are fraught with great sacrifices. As a rule the Indian lives on the great plains along the streams and rivers, often far away from his neighbor. The winters usually are long and severe. Sick calls frequent and thus privations of a most serious character are insured. Patience, endurance and self-denial are the necessary requisites of a good Indian missionary. These noble qualities are possessed by the missionaries of the different denominations of North and South Dakota and in consequence thereof much good is accomplished. The missionary and the Government officials in like manner should harmonize and accord each other marks of friendship and helpfulness. This is especially true of the superintendent of the reservation. What the agent or the missionary is, such also will be his people. The good example on the part of all employees is therefore of imperative necessity. Sad to say, however, this has not always happened. For a period of ten years the Indians of Standing Rock Agency lived a most happy and contented life; for Christianity being established and Paganism entirely uprooted, his road to prosperity seemed secured. But behold one day a man of low ideas and no Christian character as a Government official appeared, and almost completely destroyed the Indian Christian home. He sanctioned divorces and encouraged them to return to their old ways of living in spite of all remonstrances on the part of the good Indians. For this I beg your assistance in the form of a more stringent measure against divorces. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. W. A. PETZOLDT, Baptist Mission, Lodge Grass, Montana, for many years missionary among the Crows.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE BLANKET INDIAN

REMARKS BY REV. W. A. PETZOLDT

We need to recognize at the outset that a real handicap besets the Indian in his quest for the true God. This was well expressed by one of our first converts among the Crows, who said:

"The white people heap savee this Jesus Road before they give their hearts to Jesus. To the Crows it's all new, and we sometimes stumble. White man way head because he know how, but we learning best what we can and bye and bye we do better too."

This is pathetic, if crude. Hardly out of savagery, yet expected to compete with a people who have had centuries of development. A kindergartner trying to keep up with a sophomore! Surely patience in no small measure is needed in dealing with these people who have "longings, yearnings, strivings, for the good they comprehend not and yet with 'feeble hands and helpless' are 'groping in the darkness' to 'touch God's right hand.'"

The Indian has a natural and seemingly inborn suspicion and distrust of the white man—another obstacle for him to overcome. He has interpreted our Christianity by what he has seen of our civilization; to him they are quite synonymous terms. His contact with the white man has given him wrong impressions. He has been preyed upon so long that it is difficult for him to realize that he is being prayed for. We may be ahead of the descendent of Massasoit in many things but his memory is as well developed as ours: we remember that the Massachusetts Bay Colony had a seal with the figure of an Indian on it and underneath the word, "Come over and help us;" he remembers that we came over—and helped ourselves. In a treaty council of the Colonial period an Englishman said, "Does not the red man know that the pale face loves him?" "Yes," the chief replied "the red man knows that the pale face loves him—he loves the very ground we walk on." Another handicap, and a serious one, is found in the fact that we have denied the Indian the right to struggle for his own existence and "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow" along with the rest of the human race. We have kept him on a Government transport and then wondered why he has not learned to paddle his own canoe. Enough has been done with him, but not enough for him. To the foreigner we have said, "Come and mingle with us" and the mingling has produced a high type of citizenship; to the Indian we have said, "Stay where you are and do *not* mingle with us". The reservation system and the public crib have kept the Indian in racial childhood. All these things mitigate against religious work among the Indians and make it the harder for the Indian to take his place in the heritage of the Sons of God. But there is a bright side to the religious phase of the Indian question. While the Indian has elemental weaknesses, he also has some splendid qualities and has shown a real capacity for the Gospel. He has a natural bent toward reverence; he cannot curse God in his own tongue; there are no words in his language equivalent to blasphemy. His faith in Christ is beautiful and childlike. If his weakness is his childishness his strength is his childlikeness. There is an utter absence of any veneer in his religious make-up; he stands before his people

for what he is. Hypocrisy is unknown among the red men. It is natural for him to pray and his speaking for his Lord, either in ordinary conversion or in public, is no forced utterance. There are no embarrassing pauses in our Indian prayer meetings.

In the grace of giving he can teach us a lesson, for he learned in his paganism, what many of us have failed to learn under the light of the Gospel, that "It is more blessed to give than to receive". The white man gets all he can and then he cans all he gets; the Indian has a very commensurate relation between his getting and his giving. If the members of our churches were people of copper colored skin or had the Indian's conception of giving, there would be no deficits in the treasuries of our missionary societies at the close of each fiscal year. Our little Church among the Crows, hardly out of paganism, gave over \$150.00 to our missionary societies last year. Shows A Fish is a splendid example of what the Gospel can do for the old Indian. He kept out of the Kingdom for a long time, but finally said one summer, if God spared his life until the first snow of winter made a white blanket on the ground, he would come into "the Jesus Road." You will remember the story of Gideon and his fleece. God met Gideon more than half way. God also met Shows A Fish more than half way. The first snow of winter began to fall on Saturday night and all night long it snowed and Sunday morning the Little Horn Valley and the foot hills were covered with a great white blanket. Through the storm Shows A Fish came to church. The only indication that he might be thinking of the vow he had made in the summer time was the fact that he had on a clean shirt. During the service there was an unusual quiet, but nothing in the attitude of Shows A Fish indicated that he would yield. He sat unmoved, unperturbed, but when the invitation was given, he arose and came forward with that great shambling stride of his, trembling in every limb and muscle. After we had prayed and he had made the surrender I asked him if he would like to speak to his people for Jesus. Remember that he is a giant in physique, an uneducated, grim-visaged warrior of 70, had been an adept with the war club and scalping knife and had led his people on many a battle field. Yet as he stood before them, moisture was in his eyes, beads of perspiration stood out on his face, and with great difficulty did he blurt out his first testimony for Christ. I am glad to add that from that time until this, a period of over five years, Shows A Fish has been walking with strong, straight, steps in the middle of the Jesus Road and is now one of the strongest and most dependable Christians among the Crow Indians. At Christmas time we have a large Christmas tree for all the Indians with gifts furnished by friends in the East. A large, beautiful, beaded pair of moccasins were found on the very top of the tree. When the presents for the Indians were all taken down the moccasins were handed to me. Attached

to them was a soiled, tattered piece of cardboard, and on it written in crude, scrawling hand, these words "For the Lord Jesus Christ from Shows A Fish" These moccasins were sold for \$3.00 and the money sent to the Foreign Mission Society.

May I close in the words of one of our own poets,

"The Ute and the wandering Crow
Shall know as the white men know,
And fare as the white men fare;
The pale and the red shall be brothers,
One's rights shall be as anothers,
Home, School, and House of Prayer." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the REV. P. FLOR. DIGMANN, S. J., Catholic Mission, St. Francis, So. Dakota, a veteran missionary among the Rosebud Sioux.

SOME VITAL NEEDS IN THE INDIAN SERVICE

REMARKS BY REV. P. FLOR. DIGMANN

In the first place I desire to heartily thank Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for extending to me an invitation to attend this Mohonk Conference. It is a pleasure to be here, as I know you are all friends of the Indians and your purpose is to civilize them. I have spent the better part of my life among the Sioux of South Dakota on the Rosebud Reservation. When in the year 1886 a white man saw us erecting large buildings on the wild prairies, eighteen miles from the nearest railroad, he asked: "How long do you intend to stay?" He may have expected to hear, "as long as there is money in it." But I had come for something better than money, and our answer was: "Until we have them on our own level of Christian civilization and Christianity."

History is repeated: what has been helpful in the past, will be helpful in the future, and the difficulties we had to grapple with in the past, will more or less confront us also in the future.

When we first came to them in 1886, most of them still lived in their odd-fashioned tents or tepees. A number lived in rough log houses, with a dirt roof and a dirt floor, small windows, no ventilation. I remember that when of an early morning I came to a house and opened the door, I was repelled by the corrupt air inside: no wonder they are tubercular, they breathed in sickness. No table in the house and hardly any chairs. It did not last long, however, until an Indian came to me saying: "I want a table in my house. I do not want to eat any more from the dirt floor, like the dogs and cats." All this has been changed long since. They have all decent houses, even hundreds of neat frame cottages now dot the prairie all over the reservation.

When two years ago Mr. Young, the inspector, returned from an

extensive trip around Rosebud, I asked him: "Did you find any progress?" He answered: "Yes, the appearance has improved very much, but it does not prove the real progress of the Indians; the houses are built with money for sold land, not with money earned by labor and industry."

Now, we often hear talk of "lazy Indians" but no man, even an Indian, is born lazy; but as a squawman told me even 28 years ago: "Uncle Sam kills the Indian by kindness." He gave him rations of beef, flour, beans and bacon, sugar and coffee. What white man would raise finger or foot for getting more,—unless he is ambitious and has higher aspirations? Had the original treaties been executed more to the spirit than to the letter, had they helped those only who helped themselves, they would be self-supporting by this time: the ration system has made them lazy. The Indian is not lazy where he sees "ready cash" for his work. But how to make the money? Even white people give up their homesteads because they cannot make their living on it. What can we expect of a "hunting people" the Indian has been for generations? They will not take to farming over night, nor in one generation. We have tried from the beginning to teach them by word and example farming, gardening, raising poultry, and stock, all in the line to make them self-supporting. The Government has been generous and has issued them cattle and horses for breeding. The prairie should now swarm with their issue. But with the exception of a comparatively few full and mixed blood Indians, the stock did not increase. How to answer for it? Their olden-time, innate, roving disposition has not been broken. They like to travel, to visit. They take the whole family along, and leave chickens and domestic animals to take care of themselves. Only a week ago I asked one how many head of cattle he had. "Last year I had seven head; on the last round up they did not find any." When they get hungry they kill them secretly.

I remember that the late Commissioner Morgan desired to force the Indians to work, and one year cut down the beef rations to a million pounds. I cannot say just officially how much he cut them off, but I was a witness to the consequences—starvation. A day-school teacher told me at the time that he saw children go to the refuse barrels to still their hunger. Indians asked for help. They wanted work and they wanted food. Our purse was too small to buy all they offered, but Uncle Sam had a large purse, he should give the Indians public *work* and pay for it. This system was first introduced on the Rosebud Reservation and brought home the conviction to the Indians, that like others, they had to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. It was also congenial to the Indians to pitch their tents wherever there was work and money. But their homes, their farms, their stock were neglected. How to remedy these conditions?

We have employees for the Indians, among them so-called farmers, whose duty it is to look after them, teach and encourage them to farm and raise stock. We have had farmers under whose supervision the Indians' stock increased; but as quick again it decreased under their successors. I wished they would put a question in the civil service examination: Have you the skill and the will to lift these Indians? Once an Inspector on our neighboring Reservation of Pine Ridge had all the employees come to him, and put to each the same question: What are you here for? One said: To teach them farming, another carpentry, another blacksmithing, and so on. The last one that he asked answered promptly. "Why I am here for sixty dollars a month, sir." (Laughter.) The agent patted him on the shoulders and said, "You are the only one that speaks the truth."

I do not wish to throw stones at any of our present employees at the Agency, but as I told Commissioner Sells who visited our Mission this last week: The farmers have too much clerical work and not enough time for their proper work—to instruct and watch the Indians, and keep track of the increase of their stock. For some years to come they *need* strict supervision and control in that line. Left to themselves they will fall back to their old habit—"not to care for tomorrow."

There is another serious point connected with this. The employees are changed too often. These frequent changes prove baneful.

Divorces are another impediment to true civilization. In their tribal days a disgruntled couple could have gone to their dance hall, which at the same time was their council and court-house. The case was put before the chief, and if the reasons seemed sufficient, a vigorous stroke on the big drum would separate the two. Since our Indians are under the United States law in this respect, they have to apply to the court to obtain a legal divorce. Unscrupulous attorneys often come to teach and encourage dissatisfied couples to get a divorce. We are, however, in hopes that the federal Government will take this question in hand and our poor Indians will benefit by it. Even a law forbidding a new marriage for say five years, would prevent most if not all of our present divorces. Forced marriages are one of the causes of later divorces.

The school is the other lever, and the most efficient one to raise to our level the generation now growing up. The old-fashioned Indian is dying out fast. In the schools they get accustomed to work. When in the beginning of our school the bell began to ring for work, it worked like a thunderbolt; the boys would hide in all corners. Now they like outdoor work better even than classroom work. In the wild West we cannot thus far practise the outing system of Carlisle, but we have introduced a substitute: Our carpenter boys go out with their teacher building cottages for

the Indians, neat farm houses and stables, and we let them have their share in the wages.

Only one more word. I understand it to be the intention of the Government to individualize the tribal funds, give to each Indian his due share and be done with them. In my opinion, this would be a most fatal blow. Our poor Indians are not sufficiently prepared for it. As quick as they would get hold of the money, they would spend it, because the great majority have not as yet learned to invest it judiciously in order that it may bear interest. It was the Government that put the lazy jacket on them, and I should think it the Government's duty to see that they are trained to be self-supporting. To throw them off its shoulders at the present time would be to erect a magnificent building like this Mohonk House but not roof it and leave it to wind and weather.

I hope that the Government will give us time, and the Lord from above, patience, to complete the work, and we will have the Indians on our own level—a self-supporting people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. EDWARD ASHLEY, Cheyenne Agency, South Dakota, who has had a very extensive missionary experience among the Sioux.

A MESSAGE OF PROGRESS

REMARKS BY REV. EDWARD ASHLEY, LL. D.

In 1873 there appeared on the plains of Dakota Territory one of the most delicate men of the East. It is sometimes said any kind of a stick will do for a missionary. The Episcopal Church chose one of the finest characters in the United States and sent him out to the plains of Dakota as a missionary bishop of the Indians. He gathered about him a few men, pardon the allusion—I joined him in 1874. Then there were just five congregations of Indians of the Episcopal Church; to-day there are over 100. In 1874 there were only five ordained missionaries; to-day there are over 27. In 1874 there was only one catechist or helper; today there are over 100. In 1874 there was no women's organization, because the women had not yet been organized, and to-day there is a woman's auxiliary connected with every congregation. The Indians in every parish have started their offerings of a few cents at Sunday services, for all sorts of things at home and abroad, and over and above all the collections in the home churches, the Indian women of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota last July presented a cash offering to the bishop of \$4,000. That is my message of progress in the church way. (Applause.)

Who started the Indians first to break up their tribal relations and to get them out on the land and to do something for themselves?

The missionaries, not merely the Episcopal missionaries, but missionaries among the Sioux. Who started the splendid work of education that now exists in the Indian country? The missionaries with their boarding schools, and now they are withdrawing for the Government to go ahead with its splendid work in the Indian country. These are messages of progress.

The ghost dance craze has been alluded to. At the time Sitting Bull passed away or immediately afterward, there was a time when the Indians felt their past history, customs and religion were of no effect; that was a splendid time for reconciling the Indians to the white man's way of civilization, and the white man's Gospel was the only thing beneficial to the Indian. And it is needless to say that the hearts of all Christian workers were greatly encouraged by the stand which the Indians took at that time in regard to this dance, for there was no Christian Indian, that I know of, who went into the ghost dance craze. I think that speaks something for the progress of the Indian himself and the effect that Christianity has upon him. Now there are some good people who think all the folk lore of the Indian, the rhythmic action of the Indian, the jumping, and the pounding of the drum is very poetical, and that the songs of the Indians are so beautiful that they must all be preserved, that the Indian must have his picture taken while he is dancing, his songs taken on the graphophone. We missionaries have come to the conclusion, putting it not on religious grounds, that these celebrations—Fourth of July celebrations, and Indian fairs—are debauches and not compatible with civilization and progress. We are confirmed in this opinion by the Indian opinion also. Oh, friends! Do not send out any more expeditions to teach the Indians loyalty and patriotism to the flag of the United States. They know the flag of the United States and what that flag stands for. Last third of July I happened to be in a certain place, and on the Fourth the Indians of that community who were disposed received carte blanche permission to dance all day long, but not one word was said about the Declaration of Independence. Nothing was said to these people about the principles of our Government. At eight o'clock suddenly the dancing ceased, and I said next day, to a farmer, "Why, those Indians were dancing tremendously last night, from five to eight, when they stopped suddenly," and he replied, "Yes, it stopped, because I went down there and stopped it." I said, "My friend, that shows one thing: When the Indian knows he has to obey, he is going to obey, and there are no more obedient people in the world than the Indians of South Dakota, and there is only need of kind but firm discipline." As true a friend of the Indian as I am, I am not prepared to admit that the time has come when the wild dancing Indian shall say what he shall do or not do about his old heathen customs. I have only one word further, of thanks and appreciation for being permitted to attend this meeting and participate in the Conference. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. E. C. DEYO, of the Baptist Mission, Lawton, Oklahoma, for twenty years among the Comanche Indians.

THE INDIANS' NEEDS AS A HUMAN BEING

REMARKS BY REV. E. C. DEYO

It being the fact that the Indian is a human being, it goes without saying, his needs are the same as other human beings; viz., food, clothing, shelter for the body, and eternal life and a home with the Great Father and His Son, our Saviour, in the world beyond. "That which is natural is first, then that which is spiritual."

We find him with that which is natural, but without that which is spiritual. We, with the aid of the Spirit, are the agents which are to bring him into touch with the Saviour by the teaching of the living Gospel of the risen Christ—the word that is to be a light to the feet and a lamp in the path—the Jesus Road—the road through which our Lord passed while here on earth.

Then we need, first, to Christianize him, for when anyone is Christianized, they are civilized.

When the principles of the Gospel become the principles that control the life, that life will become useful to itself and others. Then the home as we know the home, the school, the Christian religious life follow as a natural result.

But how is this to be accomplished? First, as we have said, he needs to be taught how to know and to worship the living God and the risen Christ. And how can they be taught without a teacher, and how can they teach except they be sent? This must be the work of missionaries. Can he grasp the thought and teaching of the Gospel? Listen to the words of one who had been an old time warrior, one who knew not one letter of our alphabet. Some girls had just been baptized. The speaker overheard him, as he took the hand of one of these, and said to her, in the Comanche language: "I am very happy today that you have given your heart and life to Jesus, before you have done much that is wrong, while you are in the springtime of life. You keep close to Jesus and your life will all be springtime." That is a life that is known only to the Christian.

A young, educated Comanche said that he had been away to school for some time and learned to speak and read the English language but it did not help him in his life, but one day God's spirit came to him when he was in the field cutting corn, and he was glad that Jesus didn't quit him until he gave up. And then came the change in the life.

Second, he must be protected by the Government through its Indian Department, so far as possible during this period, from the

degrading, barbarizing influence of the greedy grafter, of the pale-face branch of humanity, and his sometimes helper of the red-face branch.

And what is meant by the Government? You and I and every citizen of the United States of America working through men that we send to Washington to do business for us as individuals by marking out the course that we as a whole are to follow. Then there are those whose office it is to act as guides along this course. These guides for the Indian are the Secretary of The Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Indian agent together with his clerical force, and district farmers, and field matrons. This is quite a complete and well organized force, and is doing very much for the Indian.

But there should be some more fixed and definite course pursued by the Department. At least such is the thought of some of our Indians. For instance, last year Paddy Aker, a Comanche Chief, asked the speaker to write the Secretary, asking him to search diligently for the best course for the Indians to pursue, and to inform them of this policy so that our Agent at Anandarko and the Comanche Indians may be able to know what is expected of them, so that their minds may be at rest and they may be able to settle down to a definite and fixed line of business, and be able to make progress along that line. Why cannot the untrained mind that is capable of expressing such thought and request, when trained, be capable of entering our halls of Congress and defining a course worthy to be followed by others?

The thought of stability, fixedness of purpose, and policy in carrying out that purpose, has been brought out more than once, during these sessions. We ask that the protection to the blanket Indian by the Government be continued until he has learned how to take care of the product of his own labor. Very many are doing well in this line. One of our younger men this year raised and threshed more than 2,000 bushels of wheat and oats, besides raising 25 acres of cotton and 40 acres of corn.

In closing we wish to express our appreciation of the way in which the present administration of the Indian Office is being carried on by Mr. Sells for the good of the blanket Indian, and of the encouragement he is giving them in the matter of farming. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next is REV. ARTHUR P. WEDGE, lecturer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of North America,—a strictly undenominational work covering the entire Indian field.

THE INDIAN AND DENOMINATIONALISM

REMARKS BY REV. ARTHUR P. WEDGE

The most romantic, picturesque and problematical member of the American family is the Indian member. We are far better acquainted with him than with any other member, and far less. We have analyzed, discussed, tabulated and classified him, and he quietly but persistently shatters all our classifications. We all agree with the veteran missionary that the only difference between the Indian and the white man is the color of the Indian's skin, and at the same time agree with that other veteran Indian worker that after one year spent with the Indian he could have written a most exhaustive volume concerning the Indian—his traits, his history, his destiny—but that after a half century of contact with him, he dare not whisper, even to himself, a positive statement concerning the Indian.

As he sits today at the family table the Indian presents in himself the product of more than three centuries of the sifting, grinding processes of our civilization. Many forces and influences have been at work upon and with him. He has seen us at our worst and our best, in our poverty and our wealth. He has come in touch with our highest idealism and our grossest selfishness. We have injected into his veins the vilest of our blood, and the purest. We have deluged him with billows of sentimentalism, and persistently broken our treaties with him. On every page of our dealings with him, save the very first, is stamped the cut of the whiskey bottle; and we are spending yearly, and should spend more, a hundred thousand dollars to save him from the ravages of alcohol. For him the Federal Government has instituted a Department spending millions for his protection and development, and whatever the criticism of this or any other administration's policy, may be, no fair minded person can doubt the paternal purposes of the Government. Busy men of large affairs freely give of their time and talents as honorable commissioners in his behalf. In sublime self-sacrifice multitudes of men and women have given their lives for him as Government employees, and mission station workers. Some on-the-job-for-what-is-in-the-job, the vast majority are of splendid vision and lofty purpose; and I pause here to lay at their feet, my tribute of personal appreciation. The Indian as he sits at the family table is the product of many forces and influences, and yet he is essentially Indian, and thrice three centuries of white contact would leave him still, essentially, Indian.

The Indian stands today at the forks of the road. If a year may stand for a mile, then not more than twenty miles ahead the forking roads come together again, and at their junction lies the estate of citizenship. Which of the two roads will the Indian take? What matters it, since each leads to the same goal.

The road to the left is a beautiful road, well and thoroughly made, with foundation of broken rock of legal status, and top dressing of education. It is the road of materialism. Will the Indian set his feet thereon? It is possible. He can do violence to his native mysticism, and turn his face toward this road. If he does, God pity him, and pity us, for he will be a materialist of the materialists; he will out-Herod Herod.

The other road is a beautiful road, as well made as the first. It is the road of Christian faith. Will the Indian set his feet in this way? It is for us to answer. The time has come to give the Indian Christianity. But have we not given him the Christian faith? From the days of that early member of my own society, John Eliot, and the Jesuit fathers, on through the years to this day, have we not given him the Gospel? Indeed, yes. And has he not accepted it? Well do I know the splendid story of devoted Christian Indian manhood and womanhood from the early days to this generation of Christian Indians, represented in this Conference by Henry Roe Cloud and Arthur Parker. I do not forget these, nor do I forget that barely thirty-nine per cent of the Indian population is today enrolled in the churches, and of this thirty-nine per cent, comparatively few are Christian, save in name. We have gone to them with the water of life, in the earthen vessels of our denominationalism, and they have in large part neglected the water and accepted the vessel. There has been a response, but not so much to Christianity as to Churchianity. The vast majority of the nominally Christian Indian do not, I fear, see any relation between faith and daily life, between creed and conduct. This is the pathos and tragedy of Indian missions. This it is that whitens the hair, and bends the frame, and cuts the furrows deep in face and heart, and forces from breast and lips the cry, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

As he stands today at the parting of the ways, shall we give him the Gospel? Shall we as a great Christian family give to him the one great two-fold message of faith and service—faith in God as father, and service for his fellows, because of his relation to God—a new proclamation of the Gospel, not as churches, but as Christians? Will he listen to this message? I am sure he will. Will he respond? I think he will. Then will he set his feet in the Christian highway; then will he have the incentive, the lack of which we now deplore; then will be placed in his hands the key to unlock the mystery of our white civilization; then will he be a better and more steadfast churchman; then will he, as in the last analysis he must, solve for himself the Indian problem. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from DR. CHARLES L. THOMPSON*, of New York, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and President of Home Missions Council.

*Dr. Thompson spoke at an earlier session, but his address is printed here because of its relation to the topic under consideration.—ED.

THE INDIAN AS A MAN

REMARKS BY REV. CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D.D.

From the time when I was a small boy in Wisconsin and used to see the lithe and sinewy and erect Indians sliding along under the shadow of Fort Winnebago as if slipping away from an advancing frontier, to the last number of years that I have been, for part of my activities, trying to lift them, this subject has held my earnest attention. I want to say a few words to you about the Indian as a man.

He is a man very much to be reckoned with in our American affairs. It used to be a subject of discussion,—Where did he come from? Not a wreck from Siberia, a by-product of Asia or Europe; I think the American Indian is a product of America, the slow historic evolution of life on this continent and not a wreck from any other—the original and aboriginal American! As such we Americans of a later day ought to consider him. A wandering savage, it is sometimes said; wandering, by necessity of the situation, but a savage? No, except as circumstances make savages of us all at times. He is a man who resisted our advance on a land that from immemorial ages was his. Is resistance such a crime when rights and possessions are trampled upon? Read your morning paper, or stop your plaudits of heroic little Belgium in her resistance to aggressions of a similar kind. Resistance is sometimes heroic. That it was barbarous on the part of the Indians is historic, and that it was done in ways that are not up to date, not with 13-inch guns and fine accoutrements of that sort, but in a rude, half-civilized way, which we from our higher civilization need not altogether condemn until we shall have learned somewhat other than the ways of wars which are now wrecking our civilization.

The Indian has been much to us, I think, in some ways we have not recognized; not much of a farmer, no; he did not have a very good chance, only a crooked stick instead of a steam plow and no McCormick reapers. We shall mistake, however, if we do not realize that he did a little farming. Our forefathers found magnificent fields of corn when they came, on which we have not materially improved, vegetables, squash, pumpkins and the like.

And then there are some industrial arts, too. I was reading the other day how they had done irrigating down in the Gila valley among the Indians of Arizona years ago, and how our engineers had been following the trail of the ditch which the Indians, in times long ago, dug down that same valley. I think it was a Cayuga chief who said to our people in New York a generation or so ago. "We laced our trails from Albany to Buffalo where you are now making your road." So they have been leaders for us in some directions of national history. And they have had an influence on our language. I do not refer to geographical names scattered all

over the country that are all beautiful. There are three hundred words or more in the English language that we have Americanized from the Indian languages and dialects.

There are a good many other directions in which we have the Indian influence. Their legends, their arts; what a consolation for our singers from Longfellow on! Their splendid physique. I have three Indian heads looking down on me every day from the walls of my office; one has the round head of an orator, and I call him my Cicero; another has the dreamy face of a poet, and I call him my Dante; another who has the stern features of a reformer I call my John Calvin.

But they are backward in higher things, you say. Yes, for the most part, and that is the reason for the Mohonk Indian Conference. But I want to tell you it was in 1570 that Hiawatha, a New York Indian, dreamed a dream and formulated a plan for universal peace and brotherhood among the Indian tribes, more than three hundred years ahead of our friend, Andrew Carnegie, and hundreds of years ahead of the civilization of the modern world. The first dream of a compact of peace was not at The Hague, but by the blue waters of Lake Ontario, and it was formulated in the brain of an American Indian. When will we catch up with him! (Applause.)

What can we do for them now? We were slow in doing anything for them, but since the Dawes bill was passed in 1887 there has been more progress; since that time we have done more for the uplift of the American Indian than was ever done in the history of any race, I believe, within that short time. We started right, and then we forgot; we founded a Harvard to educate Indians, and a Dartmouth to educate Indians, and other colleges that provided in their charters for the education of Indians; we started with John Eliot, and Jonathan Edwards, and John Sargent, called the heroes of the early missionary enterprise,—then we forgot! For the last one hundred years there has been, practically, indifference or hostility. But now we have come back and there are four things we ought to do.

First, we ought to resist with all our might the enemies of the American Indian, —first the man who would rob him of his land. We should give him a little of the vast territory that he once owned and make it secure to him, just as soon as he is in a position to take care of it and avail himself of its benefits. Let us resist the man, the people, wherever they are, who introduce fire water and peyote and other drugs into the lives of the Indians. (Applause.) Another thing we might do is to resist temptation on the part of many fine and artistic people, who want to keep the American Indian where he is, as a romantic and picturesque object lesson. (Applause) And then let us resist with all the might of stern condemnation and whatever action is pertinent thereto, the introduction of the vices

of our civilization in the lives of Indians who were free from those vices. (Applause.) I was told last night there is a reservation (which shall be nameless here) around which there is a well-defined (geographically well-defined, as to boundary lines) cordon of white men, morally and physically degenerate, who introduce their degeneracy into the Indian camps; let that be resisted by all the stern vigor of which the Mohonk Conference is capable. Then we must give them education and leadership,—aye, leadership! The time has come in foreign missions when we are saying, "Train up native leaders." The time had come among Indians when we should say the same. The Indian is capable of leadership, and has proved it. If Hampton Institute had not done anything else than show to the country what the Indians can do, all the expenses of Hampton would have been abundantly justified. (Applause.)

He is capable of religious life and character, too. Let me tell you a story of Kahtlian, of Alaska. He was an Indian who was very corrupt who had imbrued his hand in human blood. But the Gospel got hold of him, reformed him, and the time came when the Indians wanted what is known as a potlatch—that carnival of licentiousness and sin. They came to Kahtlian and said, "We know you are a church man, but join us just this once, this year, then go back to your Christian Indians." Then the missionary, fearing Kahtlian might not be strong enough to meet the awful temptation, said to him, "Come over to the mission; there is a room where you may stay until the three days have passed, with all the temptations; come over and we will guard you there." Kahtlian stood up, as an Indian can, and looked the missionary in the face, and said, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help; therefore will I not fear." And there he stayed, took the brunt of that storm when it broke, and maintained splendidly his Christian honor and integrity. Give the Indian what he never has had on this continent and is only now beginning to have; enlarge these opportunities, swing wider the doors, give the American Indian a full American chance! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There will now be an informal discussion by members of the Conference.

REV. R. D. HALL: I wish to speak simply as the friend of the Indian young men who are earnestly striving to make good and come up to the ideals of this body.

We are now merging into that period for which our highest citizenship has been striving; namely, the time when young men of the Indian race with the best education and high ideals should take up the burdens of their race. Are we ready to stand by these young men who represent the consummation of our years of philanthropic effort in behalf of the Indian? If these young men fail because we fail to back them, then we must admit the insincerity of our motives

and a lack of faith in the objective of our work. If these young men fail now, the day of native leadership is indefinitely postponed. I refer here especially to my friend, Henry Roe Cloud, whose noble aspirations to meet the needs of Indian young men command the sympathy and cooperation of every lover of humanity, and to my friend Arthur C. Parker, whose untiring efforts have practically assured the future of the Society of American Indians—an organization having the greatest possibilities for the uplift of the Indian by his own efforts.

I would urge this Conference to stand back of these Indian young men who are examples of Christian manhood and earnest philanthropic endeavor for their race. (Applause.)

REV. C. E. GRAMMER, of Philadelphia: With your permission I am going to read a resolution which I desire to refer to the Business Committee:

"This Conference reaffirms its support of the principle of civil service in its application to the administration of Indian affairs. We direct special attention to the wisdom of a strict application of the principle of permanency in office, based on fitness, in the reorganization of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma by act of Congress directing the consolidation of the positions of superintendent of the Union Agency, and the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes. We commend to the administration for appointment to the new position Dana H. Kelsey, who has rendered long, faithful, and efficient service in protecting the interests of these Indians."

I desire to recall by this resolution the attention of the Conference to the matter of the civil service. Everybody is for civil service principles as a general proposition. The strain of our loyalty to this great principle comes because of party politics especially when there is a change of parties in administration. We cannot stand up for civil service reform unless we stand by good civil service officials (Applause.) It was my privilege, as connected with the Indian Rights Association, to visit Oklahoma with Mr. Sniffen, a year ago, and examine personally the work of J. George Wright, the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, and Mr. Dana H. Kelsey, the superintendent of Union Agency among the Five Tribes. We went around among the districts and ascertained the kind of men Mr. Kelsey has employed, and the spirit with which he has filled that service. I believe that he is a remarkably fine example of a public servant, and that it would be a great blow to the civil service principle if, in the readjustment of his office in the interest of economy and efficiency, a new and untried person were permitted to take his place, and this man who has been tested, proved, tried, and commended, and enjoys the almost unanimous endorsement of the friends of the Indians, were turned out and retired. I want to say that the Indian Rights Association, for which I speak

on this subject, is profoundly impressed with the splendid work done by Hon. Cato Sells, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His stand on temperance, his refusal to allow the Indian properties to be impaired by the reclamation claims in the interest of white men,—indeed, his general attitude has commended him to the Indian Rights Association. Mr. Meritt, too, has proved himself a valuable assistant. The prospects are good, but all our hopes will come to utter shipwreck if the civil service is to be torn down, and there is to be made any change in this important department along the lines now attempted in Oklahoma. I hope the committee will speak out strongly and definitely on this subject. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution is referred to the Business Committee.

MR. J. WESTON ALLEN: Following the suggestion of the last two speakers—of the first, that we should have something of the stability of our Philippine administration in our Indian affairs, and of the last speaker, Mr. Grammer, that we should have more permanency in our administration, I wish to call your attention to the third plank of the platform of this Conference last year, wherein it was said, "The suggestion made at this Conference, which is reported as advanced by the Secretary of the Interior, that all Indian affairs, including care of property valued at nearly a billion dollars, should be placed under the entire control of a national non-partisan commission to serve during long terms or during good behavior is worthy of serious consideration."

At the last session of Congress a bill was introduced providing for a commission of three members which should take over the conduct of Indian Affairs. When we ask for a commission which shall assume the administration of our Indian affairs, we will do well to call to mind the success which has attended the work of our Philippine Commission, where we had the courage and foresight, in entering a new field of national endeavor, to provide a commission which was chosen with the end in view of securing men equipped for the special work which they were to be called upon to do.

We should have a commission composed of men of equal ability to devote their entire time to the solution of our Indian problems. Let me suggest a commission of seven members, including a chairman to be located in Washington, and an assistant chairman who would be located at some central point in the West and have more direct charge of the work in the field, ready to assume the direction of affairs in Washington if the commissioner was ill or unable to serve.

Mr. Valentine has always said that he was not sure that the place of the commissioner himself was not somewhere out West in more direct contact with the work in the field.

The other places on the commission might include a commissioner

of education to take over the educational work, a commissioner of health who would have to fight trachoma and check this growing menace to our national health, a commissioner of finance who would take charge of this billion of dollars in undistributed funds and make a study during the next ten years of the vexing questions involved in its distribution, a commissioner of justice, who would have his hands full with our broken treaties and the many duties which would devolve on such an officer, and, for the remaining member of the commission, a commissioner of lands and of conservation who would take up the unsettled problems of our Indian lands and safeguard the mineral and timber properties which must be conserved for future generations. Such a commission, if adequately paid, with the assurance of a long tenure of office, would result in removing our Indian service from the field of partisan politics. The changing personnel of the service with the changing administrations has unquestionably been the cause of its failure up to the present time. If a man like Dr. Worcester, who has come back from the Philippines where he has won the admiration of the world (applause), could be prevailed upon to take up the education of the Indian; if a man like general Leonard Wood could be prevailed upon to become commissioner of health, we would not need to fear for the future of the Indian. If we cannot get men of this calibre to come into this Indian work we must expect a continuance of inefficiency. If we are prepared to pay for good men (\$10,000, a year to the chairman of the commission and \$8,000. to the others) we can find men who will respond to the call, but we must promise them ten years in which to do the work. The present Board of Indian Commissioners, some of whom are well qualified to serve on such a commission as I have suggested, and who are now doing much helpful work without pay, will welcome any steps to provide a commission qualified to deal with the Indian situation. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been instructed to announce by the chairman of the Business Committee that GENERAL PRATT, the founder of, and for twenty-five years the head of our Carlisle Indian school, will now address the Conference.

WHY MOST OF OUR INDIANS ARE DEPENDENT AND NON-CITIZEN

ADDRESS BY BRIG. GEN. R. H. PRATT, LL.D.

In the three hundred years since European civilization began grasping what is now the United States, the hunting resources sustaining three hundred thousand natives have disappeared and a development of the soil and other resources bountifully maintain-

ing a hundred millions of civilized people has been substituted. The civilized people have increasingly advanced the country and themselves into marvellous prosperity and foremost nationality, among other accomplishments importing, civilizing and absorbing into citizenship ten millions of black aborigines from the Torrid Zone of another continent. During this same period and under the same control of the civilized people the native aborigines have been segregated from the other population and so abominably treated as to become helpless, wasted by disease, and even abject, and so dependent as to lead the civilized people to give ten millions of dollars annually to keep up the separation.

These fortunate and unfortunate and most contradictory results and conditions have a perfectly logical explanation, showing that the praise in the one case and the blame in the other is due absolutely and wholly to the contrivances of the civilized people and not to any lacks of the native people.

If ten millions of less capable black aborigines can be transported across a great ocean and from a more enervating zone and life and lifted into the language of the country and its industries and on these and without the education and intelligence given by schools be admitted to its freedom and the privileges of its citizenship, why in all reason has it been so impossible in the same years to accomplish the same and even higher results for the three hundred thousand native and more hardy and active Temperate Zone aborigines?

The only reasonable answer is found in the exactly opposite systems and control used in the two cases. One people was harshly compelled to come and live with and adopt the language and industries of the civilized people, and the other was harshly compelled to keep away from these inestimable privileges and to continue their many languages and in a maimed substitute for their old life.

Unity of language and industry are first essentials to the unity of peoples.

Using the great law of necessity, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," in one case enforced activity, health and productiveness among the millions, and setting aside of that law in the other case bred idleness and disease and all their ills among the thousands at vast Government expense for support and care.

The people directed and managed the black aborigine as an individual, and most profitably made the man by his labor pay his way, including his transportation into the country, while the system manages the red aborigine and by expensive segregating in tribal masses makes our citizens pay vast money for all the spectacularity, folly and failure of it.

The system and reservation are essentially coordinated in one great function to keep the Indian from merging into the national life, which merging would in itself have utilized and saved him.

The same system of management and reservation for the negro, when he began to come to America, would have been his doom, and he barely escaped ruin when the Freedman's Bureau was abolished almost in its inception.

Reservating and segregating the Indian in tribal masses away from civilization not only continued his old life and kept him a burden, but it enabled his exploitation as a bugaboo, to the profit of notorious interests.

"Comparisons are odious," but how can we make plain the odiousness of a system except by multiplying and urging comparison? The black man was brought here and the ten millions of him made useful and citizen. The red man, always here, only three hundred thousand of him, continued a non-citizen, made a pauper at a total Government cost of more than five hundred million dollars and a present annual outlay of more than ten million dollars—thirty-three negroes for every Indian. Men of all nations and every quality invited into the national family and promptly utilized and clothed with its freedom and citizenship until the influx reaches a million a year, more than three times as many in one year as all of our Indians, always here and yet denied these privileges. Did ever "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel" have a more perfect illustration of inconsistency?

There is a tap-root somewhere in the Indian's case which is responsible for the inane monstrosity of his treatment and its resulting forlorn condition. That tap-root is the system adopted for his management. Placed in supreme control, every influence reaching the Indians must kow-tow to the system's over-lording. Its supremacy and importance hinges on thorough segregation and its ability to dominate every tribe and every individual Indian and to control all legislation and all administration to that end. Slavery never more harshly grasped the negro as a race or compelled its intentions as relentlessly. To enforce our decrees we used the whip on the negro but the gun on the Indian.

Whether tribally conspicuous, numerous and noted, or few, remote and unnoted, or whether individually obscure or risen to the dignity of national legislators, the system with frequent army helps has in one way or another brought every Indian into subservience to the system's administration.

If it is his land, the system suggests, engineers and concludes the metes and bounds of that and the freedom of its uses, always to the last degree, however, maintaining the system's grip.

If through the system's methods he has large funds, they fall under the system's absolutism and are doled to him at the system's option and oftener to the Indian's ruin than to his benefit, because the Indian has not been taught the wisdom of its uses and is easily led to pass it over to the greedy white man for a song or that which depraves.

If it is his education, the system concludes, that, both in its where and its quality, always, however, with reference to such limitations as insure continued dominance by the system, never with reference to full preparation for and individual escape from that dominance into the freedom of citizenship.

If it is his industries, the system contrives the kind, quality and quantity and the where and how he shall learn, and mainly where and how the industry is to be used, mostly under the system's direction, and much of it under the system's pay.

If it is the Indian's health, there the system has been preeminently supreme in working the Indian's ruin through using the despair of isolation, idleness, insufficient feeding, hovel housing, neglect of sanitation, scant medical attention and ignoring all the facts of the growth of disease and death and the causes. Through these the system has brought the Indians into such physical degeneracy and fatal disease as to make necessary its appeal to Congress to appropriate vast sums to build many hospitals to care for the scourges its methods produced and which these same methods still incite on a scale so vast that no hospital resources can compass, cure or atone for them. Do you want proofs? Go with me to dozens of Indian reservations and I will show you right now the disease-breeding methods of housing and the vile conditions under which the Indians are forced to live and give you amplest proof of the inefficient care and scantiness of and disease-breeding food provided, and the harmful methods of issue. These alone are full warrant for the deplorable health conditions among our Indians, which conditions are not paralleled in the history of the world for prolonged, unconcerned and infamous cruelty.

We made the negro work, and he increased in numbers and health. Egypt made the Israelites work and they became a vast horde.

Forced, hired and persuaded tribally onto reservations and to come under the care of the system, the Indians by its methods have been deprived of all their old-time initiative and manly self-support. Their case has never been thoroughly and intelligently investigated by any discerning body directed thereto with a view to the adoption of a humane and supreme general course of action to which administration must conform. (Applause.) Here is where a wise, capable and heroic Board of Indian Commissioners would have been invaluable. (Applause.) Each system's chief has been largely a law unto himself, but he oftener fell under the system's devious methods than dominated them. If what he proposed looked to the system's perpetuity it passed. If system tenure was threatened, the system's machine used embargo and elimination, and this course was applied to beneficent projects suggested or instituted in the field service by worthy employees working under the system.

I said "forced." The Indian was forced into treaties and onto the resulting reservations. Government officials wrote the treaties, and army presence compelled acceptance. Were the treaties then kept? Gen. Sherman, who headed the greatest of all Indian treaty commissions, said, "The Government has made hundreds of treaties with the Indians, and never kept one."

Can't you see that being hindered from going outside the reservation into civilization for his development in civilization compels the Indian to accept the totally inadequate opportunity for civilization doled to him on the reservation?

I said "hired." Can't you see that rations is hire; that annuities is hire; that tribal home schools is hire; that all the reservation machinery is hire to remain on reservations in tribal masses; that even allotment of lands contiguously in each tribe is hire to stick together, and that all these hires are hires to remain tribally under the system's supervision, assuming that the system will do for them all that is necessary and that the Indians not being allowed to know any better became inevitably subservient to it? Can't you see that if the Indian could escape from the system and get out among civilized people, his eyes would open and he would then apprehend things as they are and be stirred to become a healthy factor in the country's affairs?

Can't you see that if out of the millions of dollars appropriated annually we pay at the rate of forty-nine dollars for the support of purely Indian schools to every one dollar we pay to enable them to get into our general schools with the other children of the country, that the purely Indian schools become a hire to continue racially separate under the system?

Can't you see that if we reversed the order and paid forty-nine dollars for educating Indian youth in our own schools and among our people to every one dollar we pay for purely Indian schools, that our civilization would get into them forty-nine times faster, and that the same principle applies to all they must learn in order to become acceptable citizens? Does not every dollar we pay to educate emigrant children force them into our amalgamating common schools?

Can't you see that all schemes to improve the Indian's stock and enlarge and manage its quantity and all their other resources tribally under the scheme's supervision become a hire to remain in tribal masses subordinate to the scheme?

Can't you see that all these contrivances mean the system's enlargement and continuance and little or nothing towards any escape of the Indian from that control out into real citizenship?

Can't you hear the system's pleading voice for prolonged control in the enunciations urged on the public attention, "He is the original inhabitant and is so picturesque;" "He has such beautiful art;" "such enchanting music;" "We must improve but not trans-

form;" "He loves his children, we must not break up families;" "His property must be protected," and many others of like quality? Are his picturesqueness, his art, his music, his Indian identity, his family relations, his property more important to be preserved than those of other men or the man himself? If in preserving these we destroy the man, where is the gain? When have we hesitated to encourage the breaking up of the families of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Islands of the Sea or to promote the abandonment of their race qualities in order that we might gain and develop men of all races into our vast and unique body of citizens?

Is not all change of every sort transformation? Is there an Indian anywhere in the United States that is not being transformed by his constantly changing environment?

Was it not stupidity of administration to adopt as a government purpose in Indian management the doctrine of "Improvement but not transformation?"

Is it hard to see that if the same fraternity, brotherhood and merging we used to unify the other races had been adopted in our relations with the Indians, the Indians would long ago easily have become a useful and contented part of our population?

Did we start right? Are we trying to get right?

Will any good come from polishing up and improving a system that destroys instead of saves; that continually invents adroit ways to keep up separation rather than adopts well-proven and common-sense methods to bring about merging?

Can't you see that Indian civilization and real independent citizenship means death to the Indian *system*?

Don't you know that about the hardest thing in this world to get rid of is a system of any kind organized to handle somebody and their money and property so long as the money and property hold out?

The so-called "Indian Problem" has always been the Indian *system*, never the Indian. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker will be HON. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER,* of Los Angeles, California, a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. Mr. Dockweiler has not come prepared to make an address, but has yielded to the importunities of the Business Committee to say a few words.

*Mr. Dockweiler spoke during the following session, but his address is printed here to preserve continuity of thought.—Ed.

THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS

REMARKS BY HON. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER

Preliminarily I wish to thank Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for the invitation to be present with you. The pleasure derived by me at this unique gathering, composed as it is of so many people dedicated to the service of their neighbor, is such that I am most happy to be here and to bring the greetings of the other coast.

A few hours ago, I was requested to say a few things with reference to the Board of Indian Commissioners. Probably most of you know what this Board is, what its duties are, how it is appointed. But there may be some amongst you who are not familiar with the subject, and therefore, I will undertake to state what the Board is and what it tries to do.

The Board consists of ten members, appointed by the President of the United States. The members are the Chairman, Hon. George Vaux, Jr., an eminent attorney of Philadelphia; Rt. Rev. William D. Walker of Buffalo, Episcopal Bishop of Western New York and formerly missionary bishop of North Dakota; Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, of Boston, President of the American Unitarian Association; Father William H. Ketcham, of Washington, for years a missionary among the Indians of Oklahoma; Professor Warren K. Moorehead, of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; Mr. Edward E. Ayer, capitalist and philanthropist, of Chicago; Mr. Frank Knox, a newspaper publisher, of Manchester N. H.; Dr. Merrill E. Gates, a Congregationalist minister, of Washington; our beloved host, Daniel Smiley; and your own humble servant, the speaker.

There are, roughly speaking, as I understand it, about 300,000 Indians in the United States. Of these Indians 100,000, approximately, are Protestants; 100,000 are Catholics; and the remaining 100,000, not church members. You might be interested to know the religious denominations of the Board. There are two Quakers, two Congregationalists, two Catholics, an Episcopalian, a Universalist, a Unitarian, and a Presbyterian; so there can be no doubt that the Indians will receive absolutely fair play and an even chance.

Let me also say, as you will probably be interested to know the occupations or professions of the members of the Board, there are four clergymen, two eminently successful and accomplished business men who might also be designated as philanthropists, one newspaper man, one college professor and two lawyers.

The jurisdiction of the Board is defined by statute of the United States which provides that the Board shall investigate Indian reservations and other branches of the Indian service, and inspect supplies furnished for the Indians. We have no jurisdiction with

reference to the immediate control of Indian affairs. That is in charge of the Commissioner of Indian affairs, under the Secretary of the Interior; he has two assistants and quite a number of subordinates. Ours is merely a supervisory jurisdiction and we report directly to the Secretary of the Interior.

Now, by way of illustration, I might call your attention to the fact that members of the Board, from time to time, by direction of the Board at their annual meetings go out and visit the reservations. At our last meeting held the other day, provision was made for the visitation and investigation of the principal Indian reservations in this country by various members of the Board. Remember, my friends, that the Board serves without salary; there is no compensation other than that sense of public service which naturally and necessarily follows a work of this kind. The other night we heard a discussion upon the evil effect of peyote. To illustrate the action of the Board with reference to that matter, at its meeting following the discussion, the Board unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Interior to have submitted to Congress a law which will prohibit the bringing into our country of peyote, or allowing it to be introduced upon the reservations, providing severe penalties for any violation of the law. (Applause.) I have not the slightest doubt but that in a short time, upon the suggestion of the Board, and at the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, this most desirable statute will be placed upon our statute books. I have charged myself, by direction of the Board, to present the matter personally to the Secretary of the Interior which I intend to do within the next three or four days.

I might say, also, that recently the Board directed its secretary to proceed to Canada. He visited Ottawa and the principal Indian reservations in Canada, and with the aid of Mr. Scott, who has charge of Indian affairs in Canada, he has brought together a splendid lot of material, indicating the method and manner of treatment of the Indian by the Canadian government, and the work done, which will be presented to us by the report of the secretary in extended form. From that report we hope to take advantage of the good that is in the Canadian system, and if possible, engraft it upon our own. At this time I desire on behalf of the Board to publicly thank Mr. Scott, who is present for the courtesy and kindness extended to the secretary and to our Board which illustrates how united the Canadian people and ourselves are, particularly in respect to the treatment of the Indian. (Applause.)

I am the youngest member of the Board in point of service and, I believe, in point of age. I am told in times past criticism has been leveled at the Board occasionally. I wish to say to our critics that we henceforth are going to do everything possible to protect the Indian, to aid his cause, and assist the governmental officers

directly charged with the administration of Indian affairs. If we have been negligent in the past I do not know it. But personally, no matter what our faults may be, whether of education, of intelligence, or of judgment, I am sure that no one can justly charge us with a lack of love and regard for the Indian and his cause. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. S. M. BROSIUS, of Washington, D. C., Agent of the Indian Rights Association.

SOME IRRIGATION PROJECTS JEOPARDIZING INDIAN RIGHTS

REMARKS BY MR. S. M. BROSIUS

During the past year there has been a keen interest manifested by friends of the Indian in the proposed development of irrigation enterprises especially as affecting the Fort Peck, Blackfeet and Flathead reservations, Montana.

The Indians within these reservations are doomed, under existing laws, to suffer gigantic wrongs through legislation enacted within the past ten years which provide for the construction of irrigation projects on their tribal lands.

The provisions contained in the various laws no doubt were better understood by those urging their adoption than by the Indians or those designated to protect them. It is not necessary to show whether or not the State of Montana had already been granted its pro rata share of the fund made available by Congress for the Reclamation Service, thus rendering it necessary to obtain security for additional funds sought for from the public treasury.

We find that in the various laws authorizing the construction of these projects a large part of the funds derived from the sale of the millions of acres of tribal lands, in excess of those allotted to the member of the tribes, are hypothecated to the Government as a guarantee for the repayment of the cost of the work to be undertaken by the Reclamation Service.

Fortunately, the wrongs contemplated by the act authorizing the settlement of the Blackfeet and other tribes in Montana by providing for allotment and irrigation of the land, together with the sale of the surplus lands, have been delayed. Three years ago Mr. E. B. Merritt, the present Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, while acting as Chief Clerk to the Commissioner, called attention to the great injustice of requiring the Indians to finance the irrigation scheme contemplated with an estimated cost of \$3,000,000, for the Blackfeet project alone, in which outside settlers would secure about 62½ per cent of the lands to be irrigated, without incurring any financial risk in the success of the enterprise.

The law provides that the surplus lands shall be opened to settlement and tribal funds realized from their sale shall be held by the Government as a guarantee for the repayment for the cost of the irrigation amounting to over one million eight hundred thousand dollars for the $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the land to be settled upon by the outsiders. If the irrigation proves to be a success in every way the settler is required to pay his proportionate share of the cost in fifteen annual installments, without interest; if it is a failure the Indian tribe pays for the white man's experiment. In addition, the United States withholds the funds due to the Indians over the fifteen year term, without interest to the Indian debtor.

A further injustice is placed upon the Indians by the provision of law that the undivided moneys of the tribe realized from the sale of the surplus land are to be expended in defraying the cost of irrigation of allotments made to individual members of the tribe. It must be evident to all that the cost of irrigation should be a charge upon the land irrigated, so that a member of a tribe preferring to select grazing lands should not be charged with the expense of irrigating his neighbor's allotment.

The lands of the Blackfeet reservation are primarily suitable for grazing, being of high altitude, and the Indians are familiar with handling of stock. If the law pertaining to this reservation is carried out the surplus grazing lands will be sold and the chief avenue left open to the Indians to support themselves will be denied them.

In view of these conditions the schedule of allotments to the Blackfeet tribe has not been approved, and the Indian Office has urged an amendment to the law which will authorize the sale of about 156,000 acres off the eastern portion of their reservation which is now but little utilized by the tribe, and that the funds realized from the sale of these lands shall be available for purchase of cattle to stock the remaining lands which will be more suitable for grazing purposes.

The surplus lands on the Fort Peck and Flathead reservations have been opened for settlement with the same provision of law that funds realized shall be hypothecated to reimburse the Government for the outlay in installing irrigation works, although more than one-half of the irrigable lands are opened to settlement to outsiders. The estimated cost of the Flathead irrigation project is \$6,000,000, and that of the Fort Peck project \$3,000,000. Settlers on the Flathead project are granted a period of thirty years within which to make final payment for the irrigation charges.

So we find that during all these years the Indians will be deprived of the use of and interest upon a total of over six and one-half million dollars at the time of payment of the initial installment of their funds held as a guarantee for the repayment of the cost of the irrigation projects within the three reservations under

consideration. •This money will be withheld during the first years of the allottee's residence upon his allotment when all the funds due to him should be available for developing his lands for a future home and self-support.

The laws of the State of Montana governing the beneficial use of water for irrigation are made applicable to the Indian allotments, with the special provision applying to the Blackfeet reservation lands "that the right to the use of water acquired under the provisions of this Act shall be appurtenant to the land irrigated, and beneficial use shall be the basis, the measure and the limit of the right."

It is very probable that a considerable portion of the allotted lands will lose the water right through failure of the allottees to appropriate it within the time required by law. It is too much to expect full-blood Indians, at least, to make the necessary beneficial use of water for irrigation within the time limited by law for the guidance of experienced white farmers.

Hence, under existing law we find these tribes burdened with the total cost of irrigation for themselves and their white neighbors, with loss of present use of their funds derived from the sale of their surplus lands, together with its earning power, and possible and even probable ultimate loss in many cases of the right to appropriate water for irrigation through their failure to promptly apply the water to the land. In addition to all this the tribes interested may suffer loss of their assets by reason of the failure of the irrigation enterprises.

The Indian Office secured the adoption of a clause which is incorporated in the Indian Appropriation Act, approved August 1, last, directing an investigation and report by the Secretary of the Interior of the status of the water rights of the reservations heretofore considered, including the Uintah and Shoshone projects. A board consisting of the superintendents of the Fort Peck, the Blackfeet and Flathead reservations, jointly with three engineers of irrigation of the Indian Service have submitted their findings to the Secretary of the Interior and recommend remedial legislation for the reservations located in Montana, in accord with the needs I have already shown.

It is of vital importance that these needed laws be enacted at the earliest time possible, so that further wrongful appropriation of the property and assets of these Indians may not be made. It is of special importance to protect the Blackfeet tribe from the operation of existing law so that their grazing lands may be preserved for their sustenance. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: A report on the New York Indians, by MR. JAMES WOOD, of Mt. Kisco, N. Y., will come next on the program.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE NEW YORK INDIANS

BY MR. JAMES WOOD

The Committee of the Conference on the New York Indians deeply regrets that we are unable to report any substantial progress. When appointed three years ago the members of the committee hoped that we would be able to persuade the Governor and the Attorney General of the State to investigate the legal status of the reservations within the State and of the Indians upon them and present a statement that would cover the case as claimed by the State. It was hoped that then a similar statement might be prepared by the National Department of Justice covering the case as held by the United States, and that thereafter a judicial decision might be obtained that would determine the rights of the Ogden Land Company, would safeguard the Indians and guarantee to them all their rights, and would open the way for the abolition of the reservations and the removal of the evils resulting from them and which constitute a disgrace to the State.

The Department of Education, the Department of the Public Health and the Judicial Authorities all recognize the importance of this undertaking and have promised their cooperation. The State officers named have repeatedly expressed their appreciation, of its importance and have intimated that the work should be undertaken, but your committee have not been able to secure its practical beginning. Our experience convinces us that our plan of procedure cannot be expected to secure the end desired, and it gives us great pleasure to learn that the United States Board of Indian Commissioners have decided to take the matter in hand. If this Board can get the United States Supreme Court to entertain the case under its authority of original jurisdiction a decision may be speedily reached that will achieve the desired results.

Your committee rejoices that in the further advancement of this work a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives on September 10th, by Mr. Clancy of New York, known as bill No. 18735, granting authority to the Attorney General of the United States to institute the necessary suit or suits in the case, providing for the appointment of a commission to appraise the Indian lands and to divide and allot them in severalty, and making the Indians thereafter citizens of the United States and subject to the laws of the State of New York. Your committee recommends that the Conference express its approval of the action of the Board of Indian Commissioners and of the general plan of the House of

Representatives bill referred to and that the Committee of the Conference on the New York Indians be discharged.

For the Committee,
JAMES WOOD, *Chairman*.
JOHN J. FITZGERALD
CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD
REGIS H. POST
DANIEL SMILEY.

The report presented by Mr. Wood was accepted by the Conference, and the Committee on New York Indians discharged with thanks for its services.

Dr. Elmer Ellsworth Brown on behalf of the platform committee, presented the following minute* which was unanimously adopted by the Conference.

MINUTE RESPECTING THE NEW YORK INDIANS

The committee appointed by this Conference in October, 1911, to deal with the question of the New York Indian reservations, having now rendered its report and been regularly discharged, the Conference invites the attention of all persons interested in this subject to the so-called Clancy bill (H. R. 18735) introduced in the House of Representatives at Washington, September 10, 1914, which embodies the present stage of the effort in which the Committee of this Conference was engaged, to bring the matter of the New York reservations to a satisfactory determination.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Conference will now be addressed by MR. M. K. SNIFFEN,† Recording Secretary, Indian Rights Association, who has spent most of the past summer in Alaska.

CONDITIONS AMONG CERTAIN NATIVE TRIBES OF ALASKA

ADDRESS BY MR. M. K. SNIFFEN

What I have to say applies only to conditions along the Yukon and Tanana rivers. Alaska has an area one-fifth the size of the United States; the Southern coast line alone, from Chatham Sound to the Western point of the Aleutian Islands, being a distance of

*The minute was presented at a later session, but is printed here to preserve continuity of subject matter.—ED.

†Mr. Sniffen spoke during the following session but his address is given here because of relevance of thought.—ED.

3,500 miles. Manifestly it was a physical impossibility for me to cover such a vast territory in one summer's trip.

Last winter the attention of the Indian Rights Association was called to what was termed the deplorable condition of the Indians in the interior of Alaska, and we were earnestly urged to look into the matter. Two members of the Association felt so deeply interested in the subject that they offered to meet the expense of such a trip, and I was directed by our Executive Committee to make a first-hand study of the situation. My companion was Dr. Thomas S. Carrington, an expert investigator of the Society for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, who had also been for twelve years a surgeon in Turkey under a missionary board.

We proceeded to Alaska by way of the inside passage to Skagway, then to Whitehorse, and down the Yukon river by steamer to Eagle, the first town in American territory west of the British Columbia line, three miles above which is an Indian village. Here we embarked in an eighteen-foot open boat for a trip of 1,600 miles, stopping at all towns and settlements, many fish camps and wood camps, along the Yukon river from Eagle to Holy Cross, and on the Tanana river from Fairbanks to Fort Gibbon (or Tanana, as it is usually called).

We did not reveal our identity, except on one or two occasions but travelled as tourists, in order that we might see conditions as they were, and especially observe the attitude of the whites toward the Indians. We were hospitably received throughout the trip and the people we met (and we endeavored to overlook no source of information) expressed themselves freely on all the topics that were brought up for discussion.

Scattered along the Yukon and Tanana rivers, in small villages, there are upwards of five thousand Indians. From Eagle down to Nulato, there is practically no difference in their customs and habits. All these natives are self-supporting. In the winter they go back into the hills for game. They eat the meat and sell the furs; and some of them realize a goodly sum from their winter's work. In the summer, the Indians scatter along the river in small camps, for the fish (mostly of the salmon variety) that run up the rivers. Their catches are cured by a smoke and air process and then packed in bales. The King Salmon forms an important part of their food supply, while the "Dog Salmon" is kept for their own animals or sold to the whites for twenty or twenty-five cents a pound on an average. All winter travel is by dog team, and dried fish is the principal canine diet. Although it would be unwise to take any steps that would destroy self-reliance of these Indians, it is of the utmost importance to see that they are protected in their fishing and hunting rights, and given at least "an even break." At present, with the exception of those at Fort Yukon and Tanana, the Indians have no rights to their homes other than those of

squatters. The same is true of the sites where their fish camps have been for years located.

The greatest danger point just now is the valley along the Tanana river. This summer that section was being surveyed by the Government with a view to determining the best route for a railroad from some interior town to the Yukon river. If the projected railroad is built, it will doubtless mean the establishment of town sites, which "march of progress" is apt to cause trouble for the natives unless prompt steps are taken to have their land rights respected. It will also undoubtedly bring into Alaska many people who have been deluded by the seductive literature of the transportation companies regarding the "great opportunities" opened up, etc; and even though these new comers do not remain longer in the country than they can possibly help, they can cause a great deal of trouble for the Indians, as matters now stand.

It would be impractical to attempt to establish game preserves for the sole benefit of the Indians, but the existing law prohibiting the use of poison in catching fur-bearing animals should be more rigidly enforced. It is claimed in all directions that only the white men resort to this method, which it is the duty of the game warden to stop. The territory this warden has to cover, however, is so extensive and the allowance for necessary expenses so small that he cannot be expected to seriously interfere with this class of law breakers, but if this abuse is not checked, the supply of fur bearing animals is sure to become very scarce, if not extinct. Then the problem of support for the natives will become a serious one.

The Indians have just about held their own in numbers. They live in small cabins, mostly one room. The health conditions are poor; in some villages as many as 75 per cent are afflicted with tuberculosis in one form or another, in numerous cases in addition to trachoma. The only medical work being done at most places is by the Government day school teachers who dispense simple remedies. At each point we visited, Dr. Carrington made an inspection of the sanitary conditions of the village, held clinics and advised the teachers what course of treatment to follow in given cases.

Fort Yukon is probably the largest Indian village on the river. It was established by the Hudson Bay Company about 1847, and is yet the main fur center of the interior of Alaska. The Indian population is 300, with twenty-five whites who can be regarded as permanent residents. A Government day school and the headquarters of the Episcopal mission work are at Fort Yukon.

At the time of our visit it was a hostile camp, due to the recent controversy in the courts in connection with the effort to prevent whites from having the Indian women as their mistresses; and also the proceedings instituted to restrain one of the traders from locating his store in the Indian village. In the latter case the court

issued a permanent order of restraint and the store was built outside of the village proper. Shortly after, the President issued an executive order setting aside a small tract of land embracing the village as a reservation, under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Education, for the exclusive use of the Indians living thereon; so now they are safe from the whites building cabins in their midst.

It should be noted that a moral wave is sweeping through Alaska; open gambling is no longer carried on; the saloons are closed on Sunday, and in some sections the existing law prohibiting continuous cohabitation is being enforced, and where such violations are reported, it usually results in the man marrying the woman (either white or Indian) or else leaving for parts unknown.

It is admitted by all who know (the missionaries included) that these Yukon river Indians are absolutely unmoral. Their sexual relations are promiscuous, and begin at an early age. One of the missionaries "called the roll" of the Indian women of the village and out of fifty there were only three named who could be regarded as virtuous, and with a doubt as to one of the three.

We mingled very freely with the whites at Fort Yukon and they talked very frankly to us. According to their code, the Indian women are regarded as the legitimate game of the whites. They say that these women have been debauched by their own people, and that the whites cannot spoil anything that is already bad. They likewise bitterly resent Archdeacon Stuck's assertion that the white men at Fort Yukon are degenerates. The missionary view of the matter is that the promiscuous mixing of the Indians and whites is very different from when it is confined to the Indians alone; for with the Indian his moral standard is entirely different from that of the white race, and he has not yet risen above the old tribal customs. The alliance of white and Indian in most instances is one of convenience for the white man, who deserts the woman at his own pleasure. Frequently these women then become prostitutes, or else form another alliance with an Indian, which has to be winked at by the mission as the lesser of the two evils. It would cost \$500 to secure a divorce, which is prohibitive for this class of Indians.

Father Sifton said the greatest trouble among the people was whiskey and the "Yukon Hobo"—the disreputable scum that drifts down the river. Many of that class of whites, he said, regarded the native women as being raised for their particular benefit. One man came to the school and said he wanted a certain girl. He was asked, "Do you want to marry her?" His reply was, "Well, I don't know about that, but I want to live with her for a few months."

Of course it is the duty of the deputy United States Marshall stationed at any point, to prevent if possible the giving or selling of liquor to the Indians. The former incumbent of that office at

Fort Yukon, it is claimed, not only drank heavily and gambled, but also was too familiar with some of the Indian women. He was removed, his successor being a man who was trained as a gentleman and a scholar but with such habits as will make him hardly likely to exert himself very strenuously to keep liquor away from the Indians. The laws relating to selling or giving liquor to the Indian are strict enough but their enforcement is almost a dead letter. Where there is no saloon sufficiently near the villages to procure a supply of liquor, the "hootch pedlar" (as the "boot leggers" are called) can be relied upon as a never-failing source. There is a special officer for the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians stationed at Ruby, whose duty it is to patrol the Yukon river for a radius of fifty miles up and down the stream. He had no launch to travel in, and most of his time was spent in watching the beach and main street of the town. At one point several Indians returned from Ruby with ten gallons of whiskey; and Indians from another village spent \$500 for one load of liquor.

At many of the villages quite a few of the Indians earn a goodly sum from their winter's trapping, but they are largely improvident, and much of their money is soon dissipated on "potlatches," or feasts, to which everybody is invited. All who come are given presents. It develops into a contest of lavish entertainment, some of them spending \$500 or \$600 for one "potlatch."

The Alaska Division of the Bureau of Education exercises jurisdiction over the natives of the Territory. It is a pleasure for me to bear testimony to the splendid work that Bureau is attempting to do for the 30,000 Indians and Eskimos, under very adverse circumstances. Over seventy schools are maintained, and several hospitals have been established. In order that the extent of the Bureau's work may be understood, let me remind you that Alaska is one-fifth as large as the United States, and that the entire coast line is probably a matter of 20,000 miles, for which vast field the Bureau has but \$200,000 annually. For a country where extravagant prices are charged for *everything*, it is necessary to economize even to paying some of the teachers eight or nine months for a year's work. The Army gives its soldiers extra pay and additional allowance for Alaska service, but many of the Bureau's employees do not receive a normal wage. To do the work required in Alaska the appropriation should be at least \$500,000.

The Public Health Service loaned Dr. Krulish, one of its physicians, to the Alaska Bureau to go over the Territory. He made a thorough investigation and a report on health conditions of the natives, showing a deplorable situation calling for urgent action. Congress was asked for an appropriation to enable the Bureau to do effective medical work, but not a dollar was granted. If the ravages of tuberculosis, trachoma and kindred diseases are to be effectively checked or eradicated, favorable action should be

promptly taken by Congress on the recommendations of Dr. Krulish. Otherwise, the number of natives of Alaska in need of education and Christianity will be a diminishing quantity.

To summarize the situation, in my judgment, the present urgent needs of these Indians are:

1. Protection for their homes and fish camps.
2. Better enforcement of liquor laws, by men free from local influence,—by a force similar to the Northwest Mounted Police.
3. Enforcement of game laws prohibiting the use of poison in catching fur-bearing animals.
4. Increased appropriation for the Bureau of Education.
5. The establishment of a number of small hospitals in charge of competent physicians.
6. That the churches conducting missionary work in Alaska should properly equip their stations with a sufficient number of workers to more effectively deal with existing conditions. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It might not be out of place to state that Dr. Brown, formerly Commissioner of Education, induced Congress after considerable difficulty, to appropriate \$200,000 annually for the natives of Alaska, instead of about \$75,000 as originally. And the Bureau under his direction initiated the very valuable work that has been done in Alaska by the United States Government. Dr. Brown is here and I think the Conference should know he was largely responsible for the work being done there, which is being carried on very successfully by his successor in office. (Applause.)

DR. E. E. BROWN: It is very kind of you to say that, Mr. Chairman.

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

Third Session

Thursday, October 15, 1914, 9 45 A. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: The topic for this morning's discussion is, "The Philippines," and the first speaker will be HON. W. CAMERON FORBES, of Boston, who was for four years Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

OUR PHILIPPINE POLICY

ADDRESS BY HON. W. CAMERON FORBES.

When people holding different beliefs are looking for a way to get along harmoniously, they strive to find and emphasize the things in which they are agreed and minimize those in which they differ. In looking, therefore, upon the Philippine situation and trying to analyze the attitude of the Republican party and the Democratic party, I find that they seem to be agreed upon the following general fundamental principles.

First. That our occupation and control of the Islands is conducted for the benefit of the Philippine people as a whole, rather than in the interest of any class of Filipinos, and not primarily for the benefit of our own or any other people but theirs.

Second. That it is not the intention of the United States nor consistent with our politics to retain an alien people permanently under our domination against their own desires.

Third. That it has by force of circumstances become the duty of the United States to exercise control over the Islands until such time as it is proven that a stable government can be established.

Beyond this there seems to be a slight diversion, for the Republicans have said that this control should terminate if at that time the Filipinos should desire it—and the Democrats have not qualified it to that extent.

In my farewell speech before leaving the Islands, I made the statement that the platforms of both parties reached the same general conclusion in regard to the granting of independence when a stable government should be established. I wish here to publicly correct my statement because I should have said "policies" and not platforms. The idea of granting independence is not expressed in the Republican platforms, but is to be found in the

message which Mr. Taft as Secretary of War, representing a Republican President, brought to the Philippine people upon the occasion of the inauguration of their Assembly in October, 1907, when he used these words:

"The avowed policy of the National Administration under those two Presidents (McKinley and Roosevelt) has been, and is, to govern the Islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filipino people, and by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control, to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well ordered government affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the Islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and Filipino people, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantage to the Islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed."

The last Democratic platform, after the usual denunciation of the things done by the Republicans, says:

"We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the Islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases."

The policies of the two parties present several marked differences, but it is not my purpose to dwell on these. The real question between the parties may very well simmer down to a definition of the word "stable," and it might very well happen that what seemed stable enough to the Republicans might not seem to be anything like stable enough to the Democrats, so that there is nothing in the declared purposes of either party to prevent its resulting that the period of tutelage of the Islands would be much longer under Democratic administration than under Republican administration.

Let us take a few moments to consider in what stability consists, and what degree of that stability must be reached, remembering all the time that the problem likely to confront both parties is the question whether at any given time the necessary degree of stability shall have been reached.

That structure may be said to be the most stable which is nearest to the pyramid in shape and that pyramid is the most stable which is the broadest at the base, and the width of the base of the structure in a representative form of government can be measured by the proportion of people intelligently able to wield the suffrage, and it can be affirmed without doubt or hesitation that any representa-

tive government in which the representatives are chosen by five per cent, ten per cent, or indeed anything less than half of the men of voting age, is necessarily and of itself unstable.

Let us look further into those conditions which make for stability of government, and in passing I do not mind saying that some of our Central and South American neighbors maintain governments which I should not class as stable. There must be a reasonable degree of public order, a reasonable degree of security of life and property. There should be a very considerable accumulation of property which pays taxes. There should be revenues sufficient to justify and support nationality. There should be a certain degree of financial stability, and financial stability is apt to be measured by prevailing interest rates in government and other notes and securities. There should be a reasonable degree of efficiency in the sanitary control, so that the death rate should not be abnormal nor the country be a menace to its neighbors. The administration should be effectively honest and by that I mean the degree of corruption should not be so great as to menace stability and the courts should be reasonably clean, because if the people do not feel that they can get a fair degree of justice there is an undercurrent of discontent which does not make for stability of government. I will not undertake to lay down the exact figures in each of these. Personally, I should want a good sized margin of safety over and above what a country might get along with. Few, if any, of these conditions are fulfilled by the Philippine people at the present time.

Having now indicated that both parties are really trying to reach the same goal by different routes, and having briefly sketched the nature of this goal, let us turn our attention to a brief study of the methods that the parties have adopted in striving to reach this common end.

There seem to be two schools of thought amongst students of the matter of our control of dependencies. Given a dependency newly taken over by the United States, which previously had been misgoverned for so long a period of time that the people do not know of what good government consists and hence are ignorant as to the rights and privileges of citizenship as we understand them, and given further that the United States has undertaken this control in the desire to better the condition of the people, and to fit them as rapidly as possible for participation and later control of their own affairs, the two schools may be divided generally as follows:

The first believes in establishing and maintaining the best form of government possible over these peoples, allowing them a supervised direction of the lesser units of government, such as the municipalities, townships, etc., and a still more rigidly supervised direction of some of the larger units such as the provinces and such

bureaus and offices as may safely be placed in the control of the natives, and in filling the lower positions wherever it can be done efficiently, with natives. At the beginning, a larger number of Americans is needed in the lesser positions, particularly among the school teachers, all persons being selected on a basis of merit and without regard to political affiliations. Schools and colleges would be started to fit the natives for the other kinds of work as rapidly as possible, and as time went on, these young natives would be put in and trained up under the American school of administration, with competent supervisors and most rigid discipline, until such time as they had earned promotion by reason of meritorious service through a protracted period of time. Gradually the natives would come surging up from beneath, working their way little by little throughout the service, vacancies left by Americans being filled by natives so far as it could be done without injury to the service and care being taken not to deprive those Americans who had given their lives to this work of the career and emoluments to which they were entitled by reason of their sacrifices and merits. It is the belief of this school, to which I belong and to whose tenets I adhere most heartily, that this policy consistently adhered to will result in the establishment of a stable government, conducted principally by the natives, very much quicker than by any other way. My adherence to these principles is indicated by the fact that the proportion of Filipinos to Americans in our government increased during my incumbency as Governor-General from 64% to 71% and this in spite of the fact that I brought in several hundred American engineers and veterinarians, as there were no qualified Filipinos to be had.

The second school seems to work upon the theory that the only way for a people to learn to govern is by letting them do the governing themselves; placing the important and responsible positions in their hands whether at the time they are ready or not, and letting them make their mistakes and learn by them. This school will put men in positions for which they know they are not fitted, with the idea of demonstrating to the people the result of their mistakes and incompetence in the hope that the people will learn to profit by their own mistakes and find a remedy for their errors. The adherents of this policy contend that the people will be more contented if governed by their own people, even though the government is not of the best, and that the officers will learn competence by experience and that the people will become strong through blows and knocks. One can not help wondering whether this will prove to have been the case in Mexico.

There is much that can be said in favor of both schools, and the supporters of each policy can quote historical precedents which tend to support their side. I regret, however, that in the case of

the Philippine Islands, which with Cuba, Porto Rico, and to a lesser degree, Panama, are cases in point, the merit of the first policy inaugurated has not been given a little longer time to be tried out. It is axiomatic that a policy consistently adhered to, even though deficient in its details, will have better results than a better policy or a series of different policies, each better perhaps, that are not allowed to work themselves out.

Another item which may be laid down as an axiom is the necessity of continuity in the personnel of the Civil Service, which is vital to successful administration. No less an authority than Lord Cromer made the remark to me as I passed through London on my way home, that if our personnel employed in the administration of dependencies at a distance became subject to change with changing political parties, we were doomed to failure in our effort to govern countries over seas. (Applause.) Any violent changes in the personnel of such a service does harm that takes very many years to undo, for it makes it difficult, if not impossible, to secure the best class of men for a service which does not assure careers to its meritorious and capable officials. There is one thing that should be impressed on all officers in such a service and that is that they are, first of all, Americans. The party lines should stop at the seashore and over seas all parties should forget their differences and, recognizing the common end, work to serve their country in helping its wards to better conditions of life. (Applause.)

The real significance of our work in the Islands has been to protect the masses against the classes and no one can appreciate this who has not served on the Philippine Commission, as I did for almost ten years, and helped to stand as a buffer between the two. We have had to fight the old order of things, in which additional privileges were being given to a privileged class, while the great body of ignorant Filipinos were unable to make themselves felt by reason of illiteracy and lack of opportunity to know their rights and privileges and were quite willing to work for much less than their fair share of the wealth they produced.

I now want to say a few words explanatory of my own position, which has sometimes, in the heat of controversy, been misrepresented. I have been held up as one opposed to Philippine independence, who did not believe in the ideals and aspirations of the Filipinos, and who had worked to bring about a permanent control on the part of the United States against the wishes of the Philippine people. These representations do not quite square with the facts. I have never advocated permanent retention of the Islands by the United States, against the will of the Philippine people, although I am not at all sure that some permanent affiliation wouldn't be the best thing for both countries; neither am I sure that it would. My position, outlined at the time that I took up the reins of govern-

ment, and consistently adhered to in every public utterance that I have made from that time to this, has been a very simple one. I have said, and I say now, that I don't know what political relationship will prove to be wisest for both countries to assume at any given time in the future; that apart from the political capacity of the Filipinos for self-government, they are not economically fit to maintain a separate government because they can't support nationality and pay the expenses of their own development from their slender revenues, and need outside assistance in order to protect them from being swallowed up by other countries. Even before the utter worthlessness of international agreements of neutrality had been demonstrated by recent events in Europe, I have ridiculed the idea of substituting a silly scrap of flimsy paper for a strong administrative control backed up by the guns of Corregidor, recognizing as I did that without any advantage to any party, we would have given up the strong argument of our administrators, our flag, our soldiers and our guns, for the weak one of some verbal promises which would last only as long as they remained in the interest of all parties concerned, and no longer. I have, however, let it be known that I am and have been firmly convinced that the premature extension of political power to the Filipinos could result only in harm to both peoples—theirs and ours.

While I was Governor-General of the Islands, I constantly told the people that I would not discuss matters over which I had no control. Wide and varied as my powers were, they did not include the adjustment of the political relationship between the United States and the Philippine Islands. I said that I would discuss and consider only those things which lay within my sphere of action. I further said that I would so use those powers as to place the Filipinos at the earliest possible time in a condition to assume the reins of government if they then wanted them, and the United States were willing to accede. To this end, I devoted myself to increasing the material resources of the country, without which increase any real independence, either of nation or of individuals, is impossible. They were given the most honest, efficient and progressive form of government that we know how to give, in the belief that nothing would tend to bring about stability quicker than that contentment and devotion to the material development of the country which comes from successful agricultural, commercial and industrial pursuits. It was hoped to develop a public opinion in favor of an efficient form of government by getting the people used to living under such a government. A capable body of young Filipinos under efficient American instructors, were given a course in a practical school in the art of government, to fit them for the assumption of further political responsibility.

I have seen nothing to change my opinion in regard to these

matters. Much that has been done since I left the Islands has been different from the policies which I outlined; many of the things which I started have been undone; much of the work has been changed, and all I suppose in accordance with the new policies.

Which is right, I do not know, but seeing that both parties are committed to the continuance of American control until a stable government can be established, my belief is that it will be found that the time when a really stable government could be established in the Islands has been rather postponed than accelerated by the changes recently brought about, and that in the present administration with their undoubted desire to help along the cause of independence, have really created a condition which will result in prolonging the time during which the United States will be compelled to exercise control over the destinies of the Islands. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all very much pleased with Governor Forbes' most interesting address. If I may be permitted to pose as one qualified to judge, I might say if he had not emphasized the fact that he is a Republican and was a Republican Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, many of us would have had difficulty in determining that he was not in strict accord with the present Democratic administration. (Applause.) The Philippine bill, which probably has passed the House by this time, contains in its preamble a declaration that it is the purpose of the American people to give the Filipinos independence whenever a stable government is established.

MR. FORBES: I beg your pardon, but I did not say I was a Republican, because I have never joined the party. I was only appointed by a Republican president.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is one of the few things that is attractive to me in connection with the Republican party,—that is, its ability to select men from my party to fill their important positions! (Laughter.)

MR. FORBES: I would now also like to say I am in no sense a Democrat! (Laughter and applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Whatever may be Governor Forbes' political affiliations, I know his administration of the Islands was so sincere and so enthused with the spirit to be really helpful to the Filipinos that he is good enough to be a Democrat. Regardless of politics I believe that the American people are all proud of the manner in which he conducted himself in that important office (applause) and in which he carried out the wishes and the policies of the American people as expressed and represented by the established administration! Whatever differences of opinion we may have, we must all realize that when an administration is in power and is

carrying out the expressed will of the people, we have no right to complain if we happen to be in the minority. I believe that it is due to Governor Forbes for me to say, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that every one very highly regards and esteems him for the manner in which he conducted himself while occupying that important position. (Applause.)

We will now hear from MR. JOHN D. DE HUFF, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, formerly Superintendent of Manila Schools and Second Assistant Director of Education of the Philippines.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CONTACT OF AMERICAN TEACHERS WITH THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN D. DE HUFF.

I have been requested to touch upon the subject of the results of the contact of American teachers in the Philippines with the Filipino people; and what I shall say to you will be the result of eight years' residence in the heart of Filipino-land, followed by some three years of residence in Manila. I do claim to have had ample opportunity for observing the manners, the customs, and the economic conditions of that country, because of having lived in the heart of that land, and of having been closely associated with the people from practically the beginning of the American regime until about a year ago.

The social result of the contact of the American teacher with the Filipino is the subject which I shall discuss first, but in all that I say I would not have any one think I ascribe to the American teacher the credit for all that has been done. The American teacher has only cooperated with the rank and file of American officials and residents; and I do wish to say, with respect to the American officials and American residents of the Philippines, that no higher-minded contingent of the American people has ever existed. There is something in the atmosphere of the Philippines that inspires the very best—there is something that claims the sympathy, the active sympathy, of the residents of the United States who go out there to work with those people. (Applause.) It shall only be for me, therefore, to say that the American teacher has done his part and has done it well.

I wish to say this for the Filipino people, that from the very beginning there has been nothing, or practically nothing in their organization, to cause upon our part a desire to make very sweeping social changes. The Filipino has much, very much, that is

commendable. He meets the American on common ground, as regards courtesy and hospitality. The Filipino has lent himself easily to the refining influence of a Spanish civilization; and when I say "refining," I mean particularly to bear upon the point of his taking on polish. That is one thing that a Spanish civilization always leaves. Moreover, there has not only been but little in the social organization of the Philippines, as we found it, to call for any sweeping change, but there has been much that the American has been able to turn to good advantage. The wise American teacher has always rendered himself socially agreeable with the Filipinos; he has laid aside all prejudices and has gone in and had a good time with them—an enjoyable time—and has found much, in associating with them, to enable him to get things done which he could not possibly have accomplished in any other way. The Filipino loves a good sociable time, and he loves to have the American join in with him; and as a result of such social intercourse, the American has often been able to tide over a delicate situation with a people politically none too friendly.

The school system has gone a long way toward eradicating class distinction; and it has leveled up, instead of leveling down, in that regard. Formerly, higher education was reserved very largely for the rich, the children of whom, in many cases, even had servants to carry their books to school. That has all disappeared and nowadays the child of the rich man is seen in the school garden operating at the business end of a hoe handle as well as the child of the poor man. The American teacher has admitted all, rich and poor alike—high born and child of humble birth.—and has recognized no distinction except that of intellect, no aristocracy except that of refinement and up-to-dateness.

One thing that has had a very far-reaching effect upon the social organization of the Philippines, as a result of the efforts of the American teacher, is the teachers' institutes. These institutes, together with athletic meets, have done more than any other agency to render a united people out of the diverse elements composing the Philippine population. Teachers have been brought together from all over the Islands, so that to-day there is scarcely a native teacher who cannot say that he does not know a number of teachers from different provinces. Tagalog has met with Visayan, Bicol with Ilocamo, Pampangan with Cagayan; and the result is such as might be hoped for in the fondest dreams of those who are desiring nationality on the part of the Filipino people. This has broken down local prejudice, widened the vision of the individual Filipino, and rendered him a man of the Philippines rather than a man of some particular province of the Philippines.

Another regard in which the American teacher has made his influence felt is in the direction of breaking up cockpit gambling.

There is very much that might be said along this line. It is principally through athletics that this has been done. The Philippine Commission passed laws restricting cock-fighting, but it remained for athletics—for baseball—to largely take the place of the cockpit; so that to-day, in place of the younger Filipino attending the cockpit and gambling his money away there, you will find him playing baseball. This at one time seemed to alarm, to a certain extent, some of the older Filipinos. I might relate some very amusing incidents to show an effort on the part of certain Filipino officials to restrict baseball. We had, for instance, one municipal council that passed an ordinance absolutely forbidding baseball within the boundaries of the municipality! Such an ordinance as that could not of course be allowed to stand; and when we came to sift the matter to the bottom we found the councillors and municipal president were large stockholders in the local cockpit, and the fact of the matter was that the fathers of the boys playing baseball, if they had any money to bet at all, were betting on baseball instead of the cockpit! Of two evils it is, perhaps, better to choose the less, at any rate! I would not leave the impression that school athletics have furnished an occasion for gambling—much less that gambling has been in any way permitted in that connection. They have been as free from that evil as we could hope school athletics in the United States to be.

In the Mountain Province, the influence of athletics has been very greatly felt, too where a little while ago the spear and the head axe were getting in their deadly work, the voice of the baseball bug is now heard in the land; and Igorot and Ifugao, Tinguian and Calinga, are coming together on common ground and are beginning to realize the brotherhood of man.

But it is from the economic view point that I would consume the greater amount of my time. We who went to the Philippines some thirteen or fourteen years ago and engaged in the work of implanting the American system of education there found that the purely academic system under which we had been brought up, would not fill the bill. We therefore set about to establish industrial education; and we have reason, I believe, for pointing with just pride to our achievements in this regard, although we have not neglected the academic phase. We may point to the Philippine School of Arts and Trades; to the fact that one hour or more is required of every primary and intermediate pupil in industrial work every day; to the hundreds of home and school gardens; and to the trade schools and manual training shops all over the Islands.

While the American teacher did not originate the idea of the manual industries, it remained for him to give impetus to them. There have been certain carping critics who assumed that industrial

education was carried on to render the Filipino a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; but when dollars and cents and good garden vegetables were placed upon the home table as the result of this work, their criticisms were generally silenced. The output of hand embroidery and lace by the school girls of the Philippines has challenged the admiration of the most exacting critics; graduates of the automobile department of the school of arts and trades could be guaranteed steady employment, depending on good conduct; while dainty baskets and fiber slippers of all sorts, and a dozen other articles I might name, are in great demand,—all made by the boys and girls of the schools.

I have, moreover, a convincing argument here in terms of dollars and cents. This is incontrovertible. We have an annual exhibit where the products of the school children are brought together from all parts of the Islands and displayed as a sales exhibit; in 1907, \$212.97 worth of school products was sold; in 1908, \$430.36; in 1909, the exhibit was included in the general provincial exhibit, therefore there are no school figures available; in 1910, \$1,853.64; in 1911, \$4,205.08; in 1912, \$12,888.54; in 1913, \$20,056. And I wish to call attention very briefly to the fact that the articles sold were only a part of the articles produced, and that the percentage of articles sold each year increases as compared with the total number of articles placed on exhibit. I might speak of the "corn campaign" and the efforts upon the part of the American teacher to make corn a substitute for rice, which has been an uncertain crop for many years. I might also speak of the "yam campaign," conducted along similar lines. We have seen the rice supply failing and have, therefore, tried to emphasize substitute crops to take its place or to supplement it.

There is one thing more that must be mentioned, and that is in regard to the housekeeping course organized and instituted for the intermediate grades. Briefly, no girl is allowed to graduate from the intermediate grades without three years' instruction in housekeeping and household arts.

In the beginning, God created man and gave him dominion over the beasts of the field, over the fowls of the air and the fish of the sea, and over the harvest; but it was found that it was not good for man to be alone. God, therefore, gave him woman, and it was God's desire that there should be team work upon the part of man and woman. The American teacher in the Philippines has put forth a serious and earnest effort to bring about team work upon the part of man and woman. The man, to devote himself to the creative art of transforming the abundance of raw material all about him into the finished product—something that could be placed upon the markets of the world and transformed into cash, with which to buy his daily bread; or withal to "tickle the soil

with the hoe and make it laugh with a harvest." And the woman, to render out of the supply afforded by her husband palatable food for her children, and clean and sanitary sleeping places, inducing sweet and refreshing rest.

Long life and health upon the part of the individual are an asset to the nation; and upon that assumption we have turned our attention in that direction in order to avert the terrible drain upon the population in a country where a few years ago the great majority of the children born were dying in early childhood. I leave it to unbiased minds to judge whether the American teacher out there has found joy in the working and whether or not he has contributed toward a realization of those high ideals entertained by the United States government with respect to the Philippines! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the pleasure of hearing DR. VICTOR G. HEISER, Director of Health of the Philippine Islands since 1905.

SUPPRESSION OF LEPROSY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

REMARKS BY VICTOR G. HEISER, M. D.

Three years ago at this Conference I made a few remarks with regard to the general aspect of the health situation of the Philippine Islands, dealing with the problem as a whole. As there are many here now who were present at that time, I think, perhaps, it may be of interest to deal with one of the details of the health administration of the Islands. There has been considerable demand for more information in regard to what the American Government has done with the leprosy problem of the Philippines. At the time of the American occupation, it was variously estimated that from 6,000 to 30,000 lepers were roaming about the Islands, spreading their infection everywhere, contaminating many innocent and other unfortunates who contract that disease annually; we found in the 30,000 probably about 6,000 lepers.

The best way of ridding the Islands of the disease was considered to be to segregate all the lepers. Accordingly, a search was made for a desirable location and finally the choice fell upon the beautiful island of Culion, which offered many advantages for that purpose. It was well isolated, and at the same time reasonably close to Manila. It is an island 200 miles south-west of Manila, about twenty miles long and from twelve to fifteen miles wide, with many fertile valleys, woods which offer shade, an abundance of fresh water, an excellent harbor and the opportunity for the lepers to engage in agriculture.

If any one has ever had any experience trying to construct one or two houses, they will have some idea as to what it meant to con-

struct five or six hundred in a lonesome island which was off the paths of commerce with ships calling perhaps once in three weeks, while the very name of leprosy spread terror in the hearts of the workmen. I remember one occasion when 300 laborers deserted us because they thought before they could get away, the ship bringing the first lepers would land upon the shores of Culion. It took much patient explaining; we did not have newspapers in the remote sections of the island, and perhaps from the attitude of the native press that is just as well. (Laughter.) But through considerable patience we induced the laborers to come back and we built the hospitals, laid out the streets, built the amusement halls, put in the water and sewer systems, erected municipal buildings,—in fact, everything that was necessary for a modern town. We have now in the Philippine Islands probably several of the most modern and sanitary little villages that exist anywhere in the Far East.

Coincident with the work of actual construction of the town of Culion, a campaign of education was started among the masses, so they might learn something about leprosy; that it is a disease which there is reasonable hope of stamping out. At first the Provincial Governors were called upon to come to Manila and discuss the matter with the Governor-General and other officials. This was done in order that they might realize and be told what was going on in other parts of the world. Perhaps six months later, we sent a Filipino doctor to various villages where we expected patients and he explained to the people of the village by showing lantern slides and making the life on the island as attractive as possible. About three months later the leper ship called and the speaker invited those afflicted with the disease to come to Culion. We had the authority to make them come, but we thought it was a big mistake, because they would have a prejudice against the colony and it would have been absolutely impossible to collect all of the lepers; at any rate, their injured feelings and the tremendous expense would have made it almost an insurmountable obstacle.

There is something peculiar and strange about Philippine labor; the Filipino is almost always willing to try whatever you propose. We took one little ship after another with these patients and we hoped those who went and were satisfied would write letters back to their friends and induce them to come; that hope was realized. We transferred almost all the lepers in the Philippine Islands to Culion without the use of force. (Applause.) I tell you that very often meant taking a child from its mother, a husband from his wife, a brother from his sister, or a sister from a brother, a friend from a lifelong friend, so that you can see with what patience and resignation the Filipino accepted this problem of segregation. I have yet to see a leper family that will refuse to give up its lepers

—if one can come in actual contact with them, explain what it is for, and that it is for their benefit. I think in all our experience the police were only compelled to use arms once in bringing a leper, and he barricaded himself in the house and there was no way to use persuasion.

Leprosy is a disease that was introduced into the Philippines about the year 1700, in accordance with the best records that we have been able to find. It apparently did not exist then. During the early days the Catholic Church was very active in sending missionaries to Japan to convert the Japanese to Christianity. The rulers of Japan did not look with favor upon those missionaries or their work, and apparently thought they would take effective measures to stop it. They chartered a ship, with 113 Japanese lepers, sent it to Manila, and told the Catholic Church authorities if they wanted to make converts, there was something on which they could begin. They took very good care of the lepers, put them into a hospital, but in those days the rules to prevent contagion were not so well understood, and gradually the disease spread all over the Philippine Islands.

Just a word in regard to the treatment of leprosy. Practically every one here knows that leprosy is regarded as an incurable disease, and it has been so up to very recent times. In the Philippines we have tried every treatment which any one proposed, it did not make any difference whether advised by a regular doctor, a homeopathist, Christian Scientist—any form of treatment which we could assure ourselves would not hurt life, at least do no permanent injury. At last Chaulmoogra oil proved an apparent cure in coping with this dreaded disease, but up to a few years ago it was not known how to give this drug without causing such extreme nausea that after a few months the patients refused to take the oil. We then tried various ways of making the drug less obnoxious to the taste, but our plans did not entirely succeed. Finally, after three years, we have found that by taking a certain substance it can be injected under the skin and be absorbed, and it apparently has a most important influence in arresting the disease. We have at the present time six lepers that have been cured and have been from a clinic and microscopic standpoint continuously negative for a period of two years. If this oil treatment should continue to be successful, of course it offers the hope that eventually leprosy may be removed from the face of the earth within a few generations.

There was another very important feature in connection with the segregation and collection of leprosy in the Philippines; we had considerable of it in our work. We found almost in every town lepers were driven off to the outskirts, left sometimes in most miserable hovels and the call came to examine many of these

people. We found many of them were not lepers but poor unfortunates isolated with lepers, some having been there for fifteen or twenty years with a disease that could be easily cured. These we took to Manila, placed them in a hospital, and very often in the space of a few months were able to send them back to their towns and restore them to society, completely clean individuals. (Applause). That, naturally, produced a most favorable impression and we gained the confidence of many of those afflicted with the disease and of their friends.

Briefly, you see the effect of the American government occupation in the Philippines! It not only has isolated, so far as we know, every single leper in the Philippine Islands and provided him with decent hospital care, with plenty of food, clothing and medical attention, but it has done more. It is estimated that perhaps 1,200 persons were condemned to contract the disease, which has already been reduced to 700, and there is reason to believe that the number will fall still more. (Applause.) The people themselves now take a great interest to prevent the spread of the disease.

There was a question I wanted to bring before the Conference, though I am not here in a begging attitude, and I understand it is against the rules of the Conference. The lepers often ask me in the Philippines, "Why is it that the American public is so generous with the lepers of Hawaii, of China, of Japan, of India, and other countries? And yet the American Republic, which considers it is responsible for our welfare, never thinks of us at Culion!" It is true, the charitable people of the United States have completely forgotten there are 3,500 poor unfortunates on the Island of Culion, and I feel that the call is a legitimate one. It has been urged, of course, that the government is taking care of these lepers, therefore it is not necessary for the public to interest itself in them. I can only point out that the earning capacity in the Philippine Islands is probably no greater than it is in Hawaii and the other countries, and while the government does provide all the necessary things, after all it is the people of those islands who are paying the bills; it is not the American public, that is contributing one cent—one single, solitary cent. With the small tax rate in the Philippine Islands, it is only possible to do the very necessary things for the lepers, and I should be very happy if the amount which has been lately started by the International Leper Commission, of which notice will be given in various religious papers, brings about some result; it would be a grand thing if the poor unfortunates of those islands could feel that the rest of the world was interested in them. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is REV. JOSEPH C. ROBBINS of New York, formerly for seven years a Baptist Missionary at Jaro and Capiz, P. I.

FILIPINO FRIENDS

ADDRESS BY REV. JOSEPH C. ROBBINS

I am to discuss personal contact of Americans with the Filipinos from the standpoint of the missionary.

A few weeks after we landed in Jaro, a woman came to our house with a little boy and said, "This is my son, Manuel; his father died of cholera, the rice harvest has failed, I have three other children at home, and there is no rice. Can you take my little son into your home and care for him and teach him so that he may grow up to be a good man?" I asked Mrs. Robbins what we should do—we had already taken one other little boy on this same sort of deal. Mrs. Robbins replied, "Oh, let us take this little fellow. He is so small and looks so hungry. I am sure we can help him." The boy's mother told us that the lad was fourteen years old but he was such a little, emaciated fellow that he looked more like a boy of six or seven. I took him over to our doctor for examination. He told us that the boy was starved. So we took him into our home. Mrs. Robbins fed him on malted milk and other strengthening food, and by and by his cheeks began to fill out and become rosy. One day our other little boy, Candido, said, "Manuel has much cheek now, much stomach, he has much to eat, by and by he will be big boy." Manuel remained with us for six years. He entered the high school, and great was my pride at the field day of the Capiz High School when Manuel won the gold medal for the pole vault and the silver medal for the running high jump. When we returned to America, Manuel returned to his own village. Here he found between seventy and eighty children with no school opportunities. Manuel gathered these children together on his own initiative and established a village school which he conducted in connection with his own farm work. (Applause.)

Shortly after we arrived in Capiz the lieutenant of the constabulary sent me a note saying that he had captured Virtuso, the famous ladron or robber chief of the mountains. With him were three little children, two little boys and a little girl. The old man had been condemned to life imprisonment and the question was, what to do with the children. Mrs. Robbins and I went over to the barracks and there found these three little children, the boys perhaps nine or ten years of age and the little girl five years old. Mrs. Robbins at once said, "We will take that little girl right home with us." The lieutenant said, "Well, she is the white elephant on our hands. If you will look after her we will look after the little boys." And so we took this little girl home with us. She was one of the dirtiest, ugliest, poutingest little creatures that I ever saw. Mrs. Robbins has a keen eye for dirt, so she cut off this little girl's hair, took off her dirty rags and washed her in a solu-

tion of carbolic acid and cleaned her up generally. At first the little girl did not take very kindly to this process but I have three pictures which I treasure; first, little Regina standing with her father and his band of robbers, this dirty, ugly, scowling little creature, then another picture taken a month later out in front of our house. I call them my "before and after taking" pictures. In this last picture she is standing with clean clothes on her little body and a happy smile on her face. The third picture was taken by me and is a picture of little Regina with the children of our orphanage—it is a long story, this story of our orphanage, but we found many little children on our streets. There had been a failure of crops and so we gathered these little children into a home of their own, where there are now between seventy-five and one hundred children under the motherly care of a Christian woman. Just before I left the field, a Boston man and his wife, globe trotters, were making a trip around the world. They stopped off at Capiz; I met them and, introducing myself, said, "I am the missionary here." "Oh, how interesting," they said, "but we do not believe in missions you know." "That's interesting," I replied, "but I would like to show you what we are trying to do." So I took them up the main street, showed them our hospital on the hill,—that made some impression—then I showed them the white stone church, saying "The Filipinos, you see, are interested, as this beautiful church was built in large part by money given by the Filipinos themselves. Then I took them into our orphanage just as the little folks were having their evening meal. As we came out, there was a mist in the young woman's eyes and then she said, "Tell me, how much does it cost to support one of these little children?" I said, "It costs more here than it does in India, because of the higher cost of living, but we clothe and feed and care for them for about \$20 a year." At this she handed me two ten-dollar bills. "But you are not interested in foreign missions," I said. "No, I am not, but I am interested in this work you are doing here with these children." I said, "My friend, but this is foreign missions, trying to do for people who need help what we know our Master would do if he were here with us. My definition of missions is, God's response through His Church to the world's need."

So you see I have had personal contact with the Filipinos, close, intimate and delightful. I have been with them, and lived with them through every experience; I have helped them name their babies, I have baptized and married and buried them; I have played baseball with them and umpired their games; I have even swapped horses with them, and through all this experience I look back with the keenest delight upon the days spent with my Filipino friends. We Americans, army officers, teachers, missionaries, have gone to

the Philippines with the spirit of the Master who came not to be ministered unto but to minister and give His life a ransom for many. There is one outstanding sign in the world today that I have seen everywhere that I have travelled. It is this: "Wanted, a friend." The guiding principle of my work in the Philippines has been in these words of our New England poet:

"Let me live in a house by the side of the road,
Where the race of men go by—
The men who are good and the men who are bad,
As good and as bad as I.
I would not sit in the scorner's seat,
Or hurl the cynic's ban;—
Let me live in a house by the side of the road,
And be a friend to man."

I believe one of the greatest compliments I ever received was from a barefooted man who came into my office one day. "We have never met before, my friend; from what village have you come?" He replied, "I come from a village back in the mountains. I am in great trouble. I came down to Dumeraw, the large town nearest to our village. I told my troubles but I found no help. At last one man said to me, 'Go down to Capiz, for there is an Americano there who is a friend of the poor people'. I want a friend and I have come to you."

And then there was another man, my friend Francisco. I was trying to save his daughter. It is a long story, but how often he would come into my study and as we prayed together he would say, "My trust is first in God and second in the missionary."

This is the spirit, then, in which we have gone to the Filipinos and tried to help them, and always and everywhere they have responded to real friendship. They are a very hospitable, loving people. I remember one time going into a strange town; the mayor meeting us on the street, at once asked us to his home. I told him we were missionaries; he said, "I do not care for your religion, but I want you in my house." And so this stranger received us cordially into his house and served us with a splendid banquet. We have always found the Filipinos very courteous. I remember Mrs. Robbins and I took a long horseback trip of three days over the Panayan Mountains. We were everywhere entertained by the Filipinos, meeting all classes and conditions of people, and in all cases we were kindly and courteously received. Again, the Filipinos are appreciative and eager to learn. Some time ago I was speaking in Chicago and a newspaper man came to me and said, "You must have had some hairbreadth experiences in the Philippines." I replied, "No, my life had been fairly smooth and uneventful; only once was I mobbed." "Oh," he said, "that is the

story for me." So I told him that I was preaching in the town of Calivo, a town of 30,000 people. We preached for several days in the different barrios and on market day, when the people were gathered in the great market from all the region round about, we went out under the trees and preached to the people as they crowded about us. I told them as simply as I could, the matchless story of Jesus. As I was concluding I held up the Gospel of Mark and said, "We have here a little book, written by Mark; this book tells the story of Jesus in your own language. We have a hundred of these books here we will sell at four centavos. Those of you who would like this book can now obtain it." I was fairly mobbed as these eager people crowded up to me to buy this story of Jesus.

Again, I find the Filipino people very faithful. A few months after our church was established in Capiz, we were compelled on account of sickness to go to Japan and so had to leave our infant church for several months. Before going, we called in two of the leading men of the church, one deacon a man of wealth who had contributed \$1,000 to the building of the church, and another a Filipino preacher. I said to these men, "We have to go away for a time and we leave this church entirely in your hands." What was my joy when I returned to find that the church had not only held its own during our absence but had gone from strength to strength. People say to me, "Do you really love the Filipinos?" "Of course, I do." Let me give you an illustration. The last year I was in the Philippines Mrs. Robbins and my children were in Japan and I was alone in the Islands. During this period I was very ill and was cared for and nursed during these days of illness by a Filipino who was constantly by my side and slept on the floor by my bed night after night. In my delirium I would refuse the medicine and coaxingly he would say, "Think of the senora and the little nina in Japan. You know you will take the medicine for them." And so this barefooted boy faithfully nursed me back to health.

Some people have such a hazy idea of the work of the missionary. Upon my return to America I was met by a classmate who said, "What do you do out there? I have a picture of you in my mind's eye, standing under a banyan tree, or some other sort of a tree, preaching to a little group of half naked Filipinos." I said to him, "You have another guess. Just let me give you an exact account of one day's work." This day was more strenuous than the average, but is a true picture. On the day preceding the day of which I am speaking, I rode twelve miles to Pontevedra and there held four services. The next morning I was in saddle by five o'clock and spent seven hours in the saddle, riding from Pontevedra to Arangel. After our first service there a man came to me and said, "Will you go over to our village and preach? There is a couple there that wish to be married." So I spent the after-

noon and early evening tramping from one village to another, returning to Arangel at nine o'clock that night. The Filipinos had remained there during the day and our Filipino preacher had held an afternoon service, but they had waited to hear the Americano preach again, so I preached to them. Before going to bed on a bamboo floor I wrote up my diary and found that I had spent seven hours in the saddle, three hours tramping through the mud of the rice fields, had held six services at four of which I preached, in three places I baptized people, had married two couples, given medicine to 40 people and they were all alive the next day and so was I. (Applause and laughter.) This gives you some idea of the work we are trying to do.

Coming up from Capiz to Manila on the boat, one of my traveling companions was an educated Filipino. In the course of our conversation one evening I said to him, "What do you consider the greatest need of the Filipino people?" After thinking a moment, he replied, "The greatest need of the Filipino people is character." He was right, and character cannot be made virile and strong without the help of the Christian religion, and so we have gone to the Filipino people to work with them and help them in working out their destiny at this strategic period in their national history. It is not my province to discuss the political aspects of the question, but as an American I am proud of the American administration in the Philippine Islands. If we continue to go to the Filipinos in this spirit of friendship, sympathy and courteous appreciation, in the unselfish, sacrificial spirit of our great Master, our contact will continue to be a blessing to those wonderful and lovable people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. MARTIN EGAN, for many years a resident of the Philippines and formerly editor of the *Manila Times*.

A NON-PARTISAN PHILIPPINE POLICY

ADDRESS BY MR. MARTIN EGAN.

The privilege and the time which this conference kindly extends to me I wish to devote to another plea for the non-partisan treatment of the Philippine question. In every essential it is an American question of surpassing importance and I believe this conference should rebuke in protest, with all the force of its character and authority, the persistent and pernicious use and misuse of it in partisan politics. This unfortunate condition began fifteen years ago when one party seized upon it for paramount issue and with varying intensity has prevailed to this day. At this moment, the popular branch of our national Congress is engaged in a deplorable

partisan contest over the Philippines and if its noise were not drowned by the louder guns of a Europe at war, the country would be absorbed, if not divided, in a quarrel that nowhere can reflect credit and is unlikely to make substantial contribution toward solution of the matter in dispute. Responsibility for this unfortunate controversy seemed at one time to rest largely upon the shoulders of one party, but at this moment its chief opponent is doing its best to even the score.

This unfortunate partisan contest has brought a long train of evils. It has dimmed our vision, cramped our action and divided men, and it has definitely retarded progress in the Philippines—definitely retarded progress in the Philippines because it has centered thought and action on the bare political ideal and diverted the people from their social and economic problems—problems which cry out for solution. The evil has fallen with heaviest weight upon the Filipino people and bears with heaviest weight upon them now.

In truth, the political parties actually never have been very far apart in their written and spoken declarations on the Philippines and the divergences lose much of their importance when we realize that both of our chief parties profess a common purpose and goal. And this tragic war in Europe and the Orient has served to bring them even closer together by discrediting neutrality and visualizing the precarious position of small states. This war has served several times to unite our people in common counsel and cause where it revealed common danger. Is the same vision and happy result impossible in the Philippines? President Wilson and Secretary Garrison disclosed the qualities of statesmanship when they refused to consider immediate or early independence for the Philippines and refused to write down dates in an uncertain future that would mature upon their successors. These decisions remove important barriers that have divided men on this question and the President and his Secretary of War could render no more important service to the people of the Philippines than to lift it entirely from the low plane of partisan politics. I believe they both view the quarrel now in progress in the House of Representatives with feelings that are a mixture of regret and concern. The task may be impossible for them but it is surely worth their effort.

The Philippines, as has been stated repeatedly and proved occasionally, constitute for us a problem marked by both complexity and delicacy. They are a stone of many facets, an incomplete history of a good many chapters. They have been and are now involved in a welter of dispute, but surely there should arise from the confusion some considerations to which most Americans can give their adherence. To me there are two cardinal considerations which I feel that every American worthy of the name ought to be

willing to accept as guiding stars. One is to do the square thing by the Filipinos, the other to do the square thing by ourselves. Possibly they merge into one because very likely if we do the square thing by the Filipinos, we shall at the same time be doing the square thing by ourselves. But the big stakes are the welfare and future of a race in the making and the honor of the nation to whom it was given to be their trustee and sponsor. (Applause.) If we could constantly keep in mind these cardinal purposes and make a decent effort to agree as to method, we would diminish the chance of failure and avoid a good deal that vexes the spirit.

I doubt if it is given to any man wisely and adequately to lay and bound the future course of the people of the Philippines, or in binding terms to define or limit their relationship to the people of the United States. There are factors of weakness and doubt, and prudence dictates a policy of progressive treatment, based upon development and tested step by step over proved ground. To large extent we have been doing this, and let us hope that the politicians will in the end see the wisdom of continuing to do it.

The unfortunate and regrettable result of the row now raging in Congress is that it denies opportunity for calm consideration of the wisdom, at this time, of taking a step of the character which I have described. It is proposed by the Democratic majority to enact a bill, prepared by Representative Jones of Virginia, which grants greater power and autonomy to the government of the Philippines. But neither the fervid discussion on the floor of the House nor the meager editorial comment of the press, has dealt connectedly or constructively with the merits of the measure itself. The bill and some of its provisions have been mentioned but most of the conversation and writing have been politics, personality, history and buncombe. (Applause.) I am an independent Republican and in the days when Mr. Jones was advocating immediate independence I invariably found myself squarely opposed to him, but I wish to record myself here as being strongly in favor of a majority of the provisions of the measure which he is now advocating, the measure over which Congress is now quarreling. I seriously doubt the wisdom of enacting the extended preamble which Mr. Jones has written; I believe the Governor-General should have a freer hand in the matter of appointments than the bill gives him; I am convinced that the qualifications for electors should be stricter; I favor a straight commission form of government for Manila. But with these and possibly one or two minor exceptions, all of which should be threshed out in forthright manly debate, I feel that he has reported an excellent bill. It delegates to local legislation many functions that experience has shown to be impossible of reasonable performance by Congress, where the authority is now vested, and contains many admirable provisions for the government

of the Philippines, provisions which I know must commend themselves to several of the statesmen who have attacked with fine fury for the benefit of constituencies about to cast their ballots. I cannot but regard the preamble as purely political in character, intended for political exploitation here and in the Philippines, but that should not deprive the measure of fair consideration as to its merits, fair and thoughtful consideration from the standpoint of the greatest good for the greatest number of Filipinos. And with sincerity, I trust that somewhere in Congress, sometime in the country at large, it shall receive such consideration, before it is enacted in partisanship or killed in partisanship.

The Philippines have been hard hit again. World-wide depression, change in political regime, impaired faith in investors, certain local and racial causes, and the great European conflagration have united to depress their industry and commerce and cut their revenue. Their government and people are cramped and embarrassed by lack of money. Congress has not provided war emergency for them and their own government lacks the necessary power to enact the legislation of crisis. They need clear-visioned and whole hearted cooperation and help and shall need it for several years.

Are we going to them as politicians, trading their weakness and suffering into votes, or are we going to them as square fisted Americans? I know your answer. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope that Representative Jones, of Virginia, will reach the Conference before its conclusion, in order that he may explain the provisions of the bill to which Mr. Egan has referred. Otherwise, I shall feel compelled to do so myself. I am somewhat relieved by Mr. Egan's statement that he believed it to be a very excellent bill and heartily approved of it in most respects. If that be true, the party to which I belong, and which is responsible for this legislation, and which is pushing it to enactment, cannot be responsible for the character of the debate described by him. But I do not believe that I would be justified in sitting silently here and hearing characterized, in such a manner, the debate conducted by the House of Representatives. It is not political buncombe. (Applause.) It is a discussion of a question of the utmost importance to the American people by men who have devoted days, hours and months of intense study and during a period covering more than fifteen years. They are somewhat familiar with the subject they have discussed. They are the men selected by the American people, under our institutions, to legislate for the American people and for the people over whom we have jurisdiction. After a service of fifteen years in the House of Representatives, with a somewhat intimate knowledge of the manner in which business is conducted there, although I do not always agree with the opinions

expressed by my political opponents or even by some members of my own party, and although my conclusions are not always the same as those reached by the men in control of legislation, yet I undertake to say that the discussion of questions of public interest, and of this particular question, is upon a plane that is worthy of the American people. I could not do less, occupying the position I do as member of the House of Representatives, than to say this much to this Conference. The preamble of the bill merely carries out the declaration of the party now in power as expressed in its platform upon which promise it was placed in power. Reviewing the history of our connection with the Philippine Islands, it asserts that it is the purpose of the American people to grant to the Philippine people independence whenever a stable government has been established under their control. I know of no American citizen who has ever challenged that declared policy of the American people, and I know of no good reason why we should not place upon the statutes of the United States the solemn declaration of what is the almost universal sentiment of the American people. (Applause.)

There will now be discussion on both of the topics on this morning's program.

REMARKS BY REV. PAUL DE SCHWEINITZ

I am intensely interested in what Dr. Heiser told us about the work among the lepers in the Philippine Islands, because our Moravian Church has been working among the lepers for almost a century. We have worked among the lepers in South Africa, in Central Africa, Palestine, in India, in South America and elsewhere. Regarding the dreadful fear against leprosy I want to state this interesting fact: In all that century of labor the nurses whom we have sent out from the home land have handled the lepers personally, washed their wounds, bandaged their sores, and come in the closest kind of personal contact with them daily, and we have never had a case where a nurse has contracted the disease. I am personally of the opinion that leprosy is communicated by means of the germ, whatever it is, getting into an open sore. The precaution which our nurses have taken is simply not to handle a leper when there is anything, if only a pin prick, on their own persons; if there is nothing of that kind, there seems to be no danger. I was naturally deeply interested in the statement that this seeming cure for leprosy had been discovered among the Philippine lepers. I would consider it a great favor if Dr. Heiser would put that in such form that I might transmit it to our leper asylum to be tested there, because, as he said regarding the work in the Philippines, we have always tried out everything that has

been suggested, and so far we have not been able to report a single cure in all the century of work among the lepers. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY DR. CHARLES C. CREEGAN

I want to commend three kinds of servants in the Philippines: Servants of ourselves, the Government; servants of civilization; servants of Christianity. First, I begin with the school teachers. Within a week I have had a lengthy conversation with one of the generals in the Army and also a colonel who was at one time Commissioner of Health. They were speaking about the school teachers in the Islands. They said that in their judgment the best public schools in the world were to be found in the Philippines. I am not sure that is quite right, but I had the impression, after visiting a very considerable number of schools in the Philippines—and remember, I am speaking independently, because I have nothing whatever to do with them, having never taught school there—I may say I do not believe that the public school system of the Philippines would suffer from any comparison with the system as established in any state in our Union, and at the time I was there there were something like 1,200 teachers from the United States, and several thousand Filipino teachers who had been instructed by our teachers from the United States. When I went into the villages and the country places I was greatly impressed at the courtesy of the Filipino boys and girls everywhere, and when I came back to America and told a group of our teachers in New York City the story, they discredited it. They thought it could not be possible that these half-starved—more than half-starved—boys and girls could behave as I described. That grand and noble work was done by our American school teachers. Now the Filipino teachers have been raised up and, through their training received from the American teachers, are doing this work and deserve the highest praise from every lover of civilization and Christianity.

Secondly, I want to say we have over there some of our choicest American Christian workers, some of whom have gone at the sacrifice of health, to do just such work as that which has been pictured to us this morning by Mr. Robbins; it is a splendid work that they are doing.

I want also to say a word for our governmental officials in the Islands. First, I was wonderfully pleased with what I saw of the work done by the surgeons in the Army and those having to do with sanitation—men like Col. Maus, for example, whom I think was one of the early missionaries. The condition in the Philippines when the Army and Navy took possession is familiar to us all; Manila was one of the vilest cities under that blue sky. When I saw it, a very few years ago, and I am told it has improved somewhat in the meantime, it was a city that would compare favorably

with the best American cities. Secondly, within a period of nine years the number of deaths in the Philippines has decreased 60,000 persons, saved by the work of our surgeons and others connected with the American Army which is just a sample of the work that is being done by these splendid men. I give as my candid opinion that with the possible exception of the work done in Egypt, there probably never has been in the history of the human race as much done for a simple people as in the last fifty years has been done over there, for civilization and Christianity, by our American officials in the Army, Navy and civil service. (Applause.)

DR. A. J. BROWN: May I venture to ask a question of Mr. Egan? He devoted some time to the Jones bill, which appears to be the most comprehensive piece of Philippine legislation presented and which differs widely from the former Jones bill. I understood Mr. Egan to say he approved, in general terms, of the bill, but he rather severely criticised the preamble. I have a copy of the preamble,—it is only three short paragraphs. Mr Egan did not communicate his specific objection, and I think it might be interesting to know, because the preamble purports to be a general statement of the declaration of the intentions of the American people toward the Philippine Islands and it is, therefore, very interesting. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: As it is so very short, I suggest that you read it for the benefit of the Conference.

DR. BROWN: The Preamble reads:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence:

I would like to know Mr. Egan's objection.

MR. EGAN: It seems to me rather an irregular thing to incorporate in a preamble something that really has nothing to do directly with the legislation involved in the subjoined bill. The

Jones bill which is pending in Congress, does not provide for early independence; it is seeking to provide a new and I think better form of local government. The present Jones bill represents a very wide departure from the previous views expressed by Mr. Jones and his party upon the subject and I say this in no unfriendly spirit. Comparison of the pending bill with the previous Jones bill will show what I mean. The old Jones bill provided that the United States should absolutely withdraw from the Islands in 1921. They are two different propositions. I feel—and I say this with all due respect to the Chairman of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives, that the preamble has something to do with Brother Jones' notions of Democratic consistency, but it is dragging in a party platform, a declaration of a party platform, in a piece of legislation with which it has no direct connection.

I have another and more serious objection to it. The Filipino people have been in politics until it has become an obsession with them, until they have neglected their duties and considerations that are equally important. What the country needs is a period of rest; their substantial political rights are not suffering. I fear that if the preamble is enacted, we shall have a continuance of this apparently interminable political agitation. I do not argue that the Filipinos should not be in politics. They ought to be in politics, but I should be very sorry if the American people should ever devote as much time to politics as do the Filipinos. If we did so, our country would not progress. This is a very definite thing that any one who has lived in the Islands, will I believe, clearly appreciate. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D.

The preamble is now brought before us and I am glad it has been read. It makes a statement to which some of us object very seriously, because we believe it is not true. It is not true—(Applause)—that the American people have ever decided and positively intended that the American government should at some time or other withdraw, whether or no, when the people are prepared for it and can be left alone; but I think what the American people intend is to withdraw if the Filipino people desire it and are prepared for it. The two things must go together. The people must themselves desire it, and it is not for us to say that we want to get out of it, that we are unwilling to continue it, even after we have prepared them for independence, whether they want us to go or not. I am not sure that the people of Egypt will ever desire that the British government leave that country, I do not believe it is the real desire of the people of India, the Mohammedans, and the Hindus, that the British government, as soon as they are prepared

for self-government, should get out. I do not think it is sure at all that even the Boer people of South Africa, notwithstanding the little present rebellion, will desire that the British people should leave them alone, and I am not sure at all and I believe that the American people are not at all sure that the Filipino people will by and by desire that the American people shall withdraw their protection. If they do not desire it, I am sure we ought not to desire it. It is well for us to have some part, if other people desire it, in their protection and elevation, and some responsibility therein. I think I express the desire of a very large part of the American people, who are willing to take the responsibility so long as it is for the benefit of the people, and so long as those people themselves shall desire it, but I do not think that that preamble expresses the real desire, the general desire of the American people,—that we shall get out, just as soon as they are ready to maintain by themselves their own self-government, without preserving any protection or representation in the American government. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY RT. REV. WILLIAM F. OLDHAM

I wish to draw the attention of the Conference away from the point in dispute. That leads us positively nowhere, because, as I am informed, the Jones bill has already passed the House. I want to call the attention of the Conference back to a constructive piece of work that was suggested in Mr. Egan's paper, upon which we may profitably center our attention; viz., that there should be evolved by consent of all the parties included in our governmental machinery some united program for the Philippines which shall not be a Democratic program as over against a past Republican program, or a prospective Republican program as over against an existing Democratic program; but that we might fasten our attention upon the possibility of an American program in which the position shall not be a contention between a Republican and a Democratic administration, but a satisfactory adjustment between the different opinions of men who are equally the friends of the Filipino. I am inclined to think that all of us have much respect for the present President, Woodrow Wilson, (applause) and if this Conference should somehow lead the way in suggesting such a program as I have named that would really be helping the Filipinos a great deal more than by further discussion of the Jones bill. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY HON. THEODORE MARBURG

To those who favor practice in self-government for backward peoples it may be suggested that such practice is had better under a strong government from outside than under complete autonomy.

In the Philippines today we find exercise in local government while if the Islands were cast loose there is the prospect of tyranny or anarchy, under either of which local self-government would disappear. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY MR. HERBERT WELSH

As one in the habit for many years of attending these Conferences, I should like to say a word in support of the suggestion made by Bishop Oldham. It seems to me we have reached a most important point, not only in consideration of Indian, but Philippine affairs, and I believe there is a rapprochement between those who have stated any opposite views in regard to this matter and that that suggestion is most practical. The point made by General Wood* I should like to endorse most heartily,—the necessity while dealing with the Philippines at all, of the carrying out of the civil service reform idea. I believe that it was never more important than today, both in regard to the Filipinos and the Indians. At times we have lost sight of its importance in relation to dealing with both of these peoples. The idea of continuity, the idea of a federal policy that is understood and can be generally recognized, seems to me to be most important,—the idea of showing a good public servant, whose work is not political, in a partisan sense, but is constructive, the work of the school teacher, the work of the physician who is either dealing with Indians or with the Filipinos, that when he does good work that work will be recognized and he will be continued so long as that good work is done. For thirty-one years I have been connected with a practical study of Indian affairs and I have had a large experience among Indians on the plains. As a result of coming in contact with those who know more than I do upon that subject, I want to emphasize that there is an enormous loss to the kind of work that this Conference has been doing whether in the Philippines or in the Indian field, due to the dislocation of the work by the intrusion of the political idea. It is almost impossible to stop that intrusion. It is the same with the Democrats as with the Republicans, with the Republicans as with the Democrats. There always will be a large force aiming to control the Indian service or the Philippine service in partisan interests; and it is for us as people not interested in the question to use our influence as strongly as possible in favor of a reasonable continuity. It seems to me the moment has come when, if there could be a union of thought between those who have stood upon opposite sides in relation to the Philippine question—both sincere, no doubt—under some such leadership as that of our President, believe great good would come to these peoples. The condition

*See address by Maj. General Leonard Wood printed at beginning of Fourth Session.—E

in Europe to-day are such as to awaken us to the necessity of most careful thought, most patriotic thought, most solemn consideration. We do not know when that great war cyclone may reach beyond its present limits. Therefore, all that is inherent in our governmental ideal we ought to try and grasp and we can best grasp it by bringing together the men who have fought and worked, the leading men on both sides, and seeing if there cannot be brought out of that some policy, not purely Democratic or Republican, but which will be American, for never was the American ideal more needed than at this present moment. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY MAJOR I. L. HUNT

As the question of the Philippine civil service has been touched upon this morning, though not by way of criticism, I feel it my duty, as the representative of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (which bureau, I am sure you must all appreciate comes more in contact with this question than any other department of our government), to invite the attention of the Conference to the large number of misrepresentations and misstatements in the press of this country regarding the reported dismissals from the Philippine service. In the Philippine service there are about 2,600 Americans and their average tenure of office is about five years; it requires little mathematical education therefore to see that about 500 people must come back every year. In a statement given to the press last July by the Secretary of War, he said:

"STATEMENT GIVEN THE PRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR

July 23, 1914.

* * * In some of the papers the headlines state that as many as 500 Spanish-American war veterans have been let out since the new administration took charge, and other similar statements appear in other papers. This whole statement is so wide of truth that I desire to state the facts. My reason is not merely to correct his particular misstatement, but to bring to the attention of the public a widespread, thoroughly organized and vigorous propaganda of misstatement of facts concerning the Philippine Islands and the governmental administration thereof. I am not in the least resentful of any sort of criticism anybody feels called upon to make concerning our relations to the Philippines and what we are doing or hope to do therein, but I do feel that the public should be warned and cautioned against accepting as facts these unconscious and purposeful misstatements. Very recently there have been conspicuous examples showing that there is a design to mislead the public and make it very difficult to treat the subject from the proper point of view. * * * In this particular instance, concerning the Spanish-American war veterans, the facts are as follows:

I have before me, loaned by a periodical, an unsigned, unauthenticated, printed folder, purporting to be a copy of resolutions adopted by the Department Veteran Army of the Philippines, at its convention held at Baguio, Philippine Islands, April 8th to 12th, 1914. It contains no suggestion that 500 veterans of the Spanish war had been let out of service, though the statement is made therein that 500 Americans had been forced out of the service within four months. As a matter of fact, when Governor-General Harrison, himself a veteran of the Spanish War, made this statement is made in such a way as to mislead apparently a good part of the press. He stated that the Philippine Islands the number of Spanish war veterans in the Philippine civil service was very small. There had been a time when the majority of the American civil employees of the Philippine Government were veterans of the Spanish-American War and the insurrection in the Philippines, but in 1903, 617 Americans voluntarily left that service and 269 left involuntarily, a total of 886, or 32% of the American personnel. In 1904, 787 Americans left voluntarily, 313 involuntarily, a total of 1,100, or 34% of the American personnel. In the later comparisons I shall only refer to subsequent years, when the entire number of Americans in the Philippine service was kept at approximately 2,600.

On Governor-General Harrison's arrival there was in the civil service of the Philippine Islands and had been for a number of years, a continuously changing body of Americans maintained at approximately 2600. Of these Americans for the eight preceding years approximately 500 each year had voluntarily withdrawn from the service. The number leaving in the past year has been slightly greater, due to necessary retrenchment. For the seven months ending April 30, which included the first seven months of Governor-General Harrison's administration of the Philippine Islands, 497 Americans had left the service. Of this number 302 had resigned voluntarily; 144 had left the service due to reduction of force; 12 had resigned for various reasons at the request of the Governor-General; 18 had been dropped for unexplained leave of absence; 4 had died, and 17 had been discharged for various reasons under the civil service laws.

It should be noted that in 1905 and 1906, when an effort was made at retrenchment, 1,275 Americans left the civil service of the Philippine Islands in two years, so that there has been nothing remarkable in the number of Americans that have left the Philippine civil service for all causes since the arrival of Governor-General Harrison in the Philippines.

Now as to the number of these leaving the service who are Spanish war veterans and of the unfair treatment which they have subsequently received:

On January 10, 1914, the Director of the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands prepared for the Governor-General a list showing the ex-soldiers, ex-sailors and ex-marines who had been dropped from the Philippine civil service since his arrival on account of reduction of force. This included a total of 22, not half of whom were Spanish war veterans. Of this number four have been transferred to the United States Civil Service in the Islands, and six were transferred to the United States Civil Service at home. This total of ten who were transferred to the civil service included every man on the list who applied for a transfer. Other changes have taken place since January 10 but this quite fully illustrates the small number of veterans affected thereby and the subsequent treatment which they had received.

In fact, it is well known to all persons who have been for any length of time in the Philippine civil service that we have the most liberal provisions governing their transfer to the United States civil service. Heretofore, this has required three years' service in the Philippine Islands, but in order that no man might be prejudiced, due to the reduction in the American force found necessary in the Philippine Islands, President Wilson has reduced this period to two years in cases of persons who have been deprived of positions in the Philippines by reduction of force. The facts further are that no employees in the Philippines have been discharged by Governor Harrison except in accordance with law and the civil service regulations and in the manner customarily followed heretofore in the Islands. * * * * *

I give attention to this particular misrepresentation because I feel so strongly that we have a very difficult duty to perform in the Philippines, and that it only can be properly performed if the event public opinion in this country proceeds upon the facts as they are and not upon willful misstatements thereof, which can only serve to misdirect and mislead opinion and judgment."

(Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

Fourth Session

Thursday, October 15, 1914, 8 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: The general topic for this evening is "Philippine Affairs."

MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, who for three years was military governor of the Moros in the Philippine Islands, and whose former position as Chief of Staff of the Army and intimate association with the administration of the Islands in connection with our foreign physicians gave him an intimate insight into the work of our government will address the Conference. (Applause.)

THE MORO GOVERNMENT

REMARKS BY MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD,* U. S. A.

The form of government of the Moro Province differs somewhat from the form of government in the remainder of the Islands. The provincial government for the Moros established in July, 1903, gave to that province a semi-independent form of government. The governor had a council, called a legislative council; there was an engineer and secretary, chief of public works, chief of the department of schools, provincial attorney, as well as a treasurer. The province was divided into five sections or districts; in each of these districts was a governor known as the district governor. He was given a secretary. These district governors were, in all cases, Americans,—in most cases, officers of the army. The original act creating the government of the Moro province provided that the governor should be the commanding general of the department. The Moro province comprises about three-fourths of the island of Mindanao and the Zulu islands, running up and down quite a distance on the coast of Borneo. It was called the "Moro province," because the bulk of the people—that is, the fighting people there—were called by the Spaniards "Moros" or "Moors" for the reason they were all Mohammedans, and they gave to this people the name they gave to their old enemies in Spain and Africa. These little districts are subdivided into headmen's districts. The headmen were the local chiefs, the most

*General Wood spoke in the third session, but to preserve continuity of subject matter his address is printed here.—ED.

important and most reliable that we could pick out; each headman was given as a badge of office, a baldric with a seal with the arms of the Moro province, and some simple device indicating his ward. He had a little tribal court, with limited jurisdiction, the idea being to make him feel he was responsible for part of the government of the province. It was also to give him certain authority in minor matters such as he had always exercised over his people. We took away from these men the right of life and death which they had formerly exercised. From these little courts of the headmen appeal could be made to the court of the district governor; the district governor was an officer picked out in all cases because of his fitness for the place; he was a man interested in the work and believed things could be done for the betterment of the people. With him were associated always, as advisers, a number of the more important natives who, while they had no vote, were supposed to advise him on the customs of the people. You must remember we were dealing with a people quite unlike any with whom we had ever come in contact. Some of our people in the headmen's wards were head hunters and at certain phases of the moon did not object to eating a little of their enemy's liver if the occasion required it. Some of our wild people lived in small houses and in trees. These were a savage people who had a knowledge of fire and a knowledge of some of the simpler arts, but were crude, wild, with no more conception of government than such people usually have. These tribal courts had a rather limited jurisdiction, and from them an appeal could always be taken to the courts of first instance; in fact, instead of prescribing that all cases should go to the courts of first instance—the courts of first instance are the regular courts of the island—the island was divided into judicial districts, presided over by judges of first instance, who have, under the code of the Philippines, practically unlimited jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters. I thought it was better, instead of directing a reference of all cases to the courts of first instance, and depriving the local governors and chiefs of the power they had usually exercised, to give this right of appeal, knowing that most human beings will appeal a case to a higher court, if there is the opportunity; so that these half-civilized people would go from one court to another and eventually end their suit in the court of first instance where we wanted them to end these matters. Gradually they became accustomed to the use of the courts of the province and I think that now all the important cases go to these courts. At first, we did not punish murder by death, only by long terms of imprisonment, and for a very good reason. You cannot jump into a savage community and impose the morals of this audience over night; if you do, it will be a very lightly lodged imposition and dropped quickly. We tried gradually to get into these people some of our ideas. Where a human life is as cheap as among the Moros—the life of a

free man was worth 105 pesos,—that is, anybody who killed a freeman could entirely satisfy his family by paying 105 pesos or \$52 50; a free woman was worth just half as much; the life of a male slave, sound in body and in mind, was worth the same as that of a free woman; and a female slave was worth half that of a slave man. With these limitations on the value of life it would have been rather radical to impose a death penalty where the chiefs were in the habit of taking life for minor offences. So we started by gradually imposing considerable periods of imprisonment and hard work, and by degrees approached a condition which made it possible to impose the death penalty. The system worked well.

Who are the natives of the Moro province? The population is not accurately known. Probably the Moros or Mohammedans number somewhere around 220,000 to 250,000 people, with about as many more wild people, perhaps there are not as many as 400,000 or 500,000 people, all together. We divided the country up, as I have told you, into these districts, and we had also tribal districts—administrative districts—quite distinct from the municipalities and known as tribal wards. If a man did not care to become a member of the municipality and assume the responsibilities, he continued a member of the tribal ward, which might cover several municipalities or only part of one. There was a representative of the tribal ward in each municipality, as a member of the municipal council, who if he wanted could become an active member and assume the responsibility of full citizenship to the extent of the municipality. So, as I explained in the matter of justice and civil rights, we tried to bring these semi-civilized people into closer touch with the administration and were quite successful in our efforts.

We Americans speak of the Filipino problem as a class with little knowledge and make one fundamental mistake. We think that we can change a people just as we would change a building, that we can put a lot of energy into them and change them in a few days, but we cannot. It is going to take time to change these people, and when the people in the houses to whom the school children go home, have themselves gone to the schools, then we shall begin to have a homogeneous mass among those who are at present half-civilized peoples. Now many a child is going home from school to the house of a man who used to live in a tree and who, perhaps in his earlier days was a head hunter; in other words, the parents of the children coming from the wild districts know nothing of the schools except in a superficial way, but when the parents have also been to the schools and received something of their training, then and not until then we will begin to have a homogeneous mass among these mountain peoples for administrative purposes.

The Moros were a very warlike, strong, aggressive people. The founders of the faith in the Philippine Islands came from the Malay Peninsula, and among the first settlers there were some from Java. They arrived probably in 1400, 1425, 1450,—of those dates I am uncertain; they landed on the big island of Mindanao, also on the island of Jolo; they very rapidly overran the native population, which is, generally speaking, Malay population with the exception of small groups of Negritos and others in the mountains, and made them Mohammedans. When the Spaniards arrived in Manila the Moros had very strongly fortified places something over 100 miles north of Manila. They dominated the sea coast of all the southern islands and were the terror of these seas and continued to be for a great many years. As late as about 1840 they captured a naval station off the coast of Borneo. They were a fierce fighting people. No doubt if the Spaniards had not gone to the Philippines they would soon have dominated the islands. We find they were rapidly extending over them. They are Mohammedans; their Mohammedanism is of a crude type; they have a hatred of Christians, and believe if they die fighting with Christians that they go straight to heaven. The woman believes if she is killed in a fight with Christians that she receives a soul, and as under ordinary circumstances they do not consider that a woman has a soul, you can understand the incentive to fight, on the part of the Moros, is rather strong, and it may be an explanation as to how it was that in some of the hardest fights out there, despite months of waiting and a great deal of patience, the women were occasionally killed fighting, just as Mohammedan women always have been, and largely for the reasons which I have stated. But our big problem with them has not been to defeat them in battle, but to keep them alive, not to get them into a fight, but to keep them out of one. But there is such strong hostility to us that they have always insisted on fighting, and few surrenders have taken place; so that you have heard, from time to time, of fighting in the Moro province and fighting with the Moros. But that has largely passed away, as the government has become more stable. Recently there have been some radical changes in the government, with which I am not familiar enough to discuss them, having learned of them only within the last few days. The school system in the Moro province is good. We had to print the first school books in Arabic, use Arabic characters entirely. The principal disturbing element is the fanatical Arab priest, or Moro priest, who has gone to Mecca, and is full of false zeal and very often starts trouble.

In our efforts to benefit the wild people of the interior, a system of Moro exchanges or markets were started—places to which they could bring their produce and obtain a fair price for it, and where they could remain in peace and quiet until they had a chance to sell it to advantage. Before these markets were established these

people generally fell into the hands of unscrupulous traders—Moros, Chinese and Filipinos—who managed to get their produce for a trifle. Under the new system the agent of the provincial government in charge of these exchanges looked after them and saw that they were not taken advantage of.

Major John P. Finley, who was largely responsible for starting this system, pushed it forward in various portions of the province, with results which added greatly to the total of provincial exports, and did much to bring about better relations and better understanding with the wild people of the interior. Little by little under this system, the amount of jungle produce brought from the mountains to the coast was increased, and tribes more powerful and more in touch with us began to use these stations as a place to dispose of their products; in fact they soon became general markets, the mountain people gaining in confidence came to the coast more and more freely. They sold much more produce and consequently were much better buyers in the seacoast towns.

The great opposition to the provincial government came from the Mohammedan Moros, who as I have already stated are a fanatical, hard fighting lot of people. They are good sailors, bold and adventurous at sea, slave traders whenever they had an opportunity. Our first serious clash with them came over the question of slave trade; in fact, that lay at the bottom of most of our difficulties with the Moros—it was the direct cause of the disturbance in Jolo which ended in the Battle of Mount Dajo, and was the immediate cause of the campaign in the Cotabato Valley against Datto Ali. Slave trading was pretty effectually stopped, it was made punishable by severe penalties, and provincial and district authorities were vigorously active in its suppression. No effort was made to interfere with the exercises of the Mohammedan religion. The Mohammedan women were given an equal standing with the men in our courts, this new status of the women exercising a strong influence in the betterment of their condition. They began to assert themselves more and to insist upon decent treatment; in short, it tended to the establishment of better relations, and the doing away with a great many evil practices.

A good work was done, and now that a civilian has been appointed for the first time—Governor Carpenter, who for a long time was secretary—I hope to see the work go on, and feel that it will very successfully. You must remember when you read of the work in the southern Philippines that we are dealing largely with a savage people, a people whose very religion teaches them to oppose us. It is only by the most infinite patience that we have carried them as far as we have.

Another point,—that is, the necessity of some sort of permanency in our civil service in the Islands. I know many men who went out there, of the sort of men we must have; their work is of a

high order, but they spend eight or ten years there and then come back. To what? To nothing. They must start in afresh, they are ten years behind all their friends, they have given the best years of their lives to the Government. You ask, "Why don't they stay?" They don't stay because no white man can stay constantly in the tropics; he must get away for about one year in five, get his feet in the snow and his head in the cold air, he must have a radical change if he is to maintain his efficiency; the problem is such a varied and complex one that a man's value increases as time goes on if he is of the right type. He learns some of the dialects, becomes familiar with the customs of the people, method of life, etc., and in order to stay he necessarily separates himself more and more completely from the home country.

After twenty or twenty-five years in the tropics he is generally in a condition where retirement is desirable, and it is here that our system breaks down. There is no provision for retirement and men who have been twenty-five years in the tropics and are generally approaching fifty years of age, can not be expected to come home and start fresh. They should be retired on three-quarter pay when the proper time comes, as are the civil officers of other countries having tropical possessions. Under the present system, our best men who are really interested in the work, have to give it up after eight or ten years and return to the United States to make a belated start in their career here. A man who breaks down now in the Philippines has nothing to fall back on except the charity of friends. We need retirement for those who break down in the tropical service. Men serving the government in our tropical possessions can not save money from their salaries; they are giving us the best that is in them, and when they break down we should make some provision to take care of them. There should be a civil retired list for these men. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear a paper read by MAJOR I. L. HUNT, U. S. A., Washington, Assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

THE MORO UNDER SPAIN AND AMERICA

ADDRESS BY MAJOR I. L. HUNT, U. S. A.

The word "Moro" as General Wood reminded you is the Spanish word for "Moor," which term was applied by the Spaniards of the Peninsula to the Mohammedan invaders of Western Europe who were defeated by Charles Martel at Tours in 732 and finally expelled from Western Europe with the fall of Granada in 1492.

At the beginning of any discussion with reference to the place which the Moros occupy in the Philippine problem it is well for

us to fix in our minds certain geographical facts with reference to the Philippines. The total area of the Philippines is somewhat in excess of 115,000 square miles or about equal to that of all New England and the State of New York. If placed upon the map of the United States so that the northern point of Luzon would lie about in the region of Duluth, Minn., Jolo, the principal stronghold of the Moros, would lie in the vicinity of New Orleans, while east and west the Islands would extend from Omaha to Pittsburg. Zamboanga, the present capital of the Moro Province is about as far from Singapore as Chicago from New York, and is two day's sail by inter-island steamships from Manila. The Islands of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago which combine to make up the principal habitat of the Moros, have an area greater than the State of New York, and their population at the present time is about 600,000, of which upwards of 350,000 are Moros, the remainder being pagans, Christian Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Americans and Europeans.

The two leading authorities on the history of the Moros in the Philippines are Sawyer and Saleeby. To Dr. Saleeby, in particular, we are indebted for the translation of many original records of the Moros involving their history, laws and religion. Dr. Saleeby went to the Philippines with the Army in 1898 as a contract surgeon in the United States Army, and later became the first Superintendent of Schools in the Moro Province. Being a Christian Syrian by birth and educated in the Arabic tongue, his services were of special value to the government as an interpreter and administrator. These remarks, in so far as they concern the history of the Moro, are based largely upon Dr. Saleeby's translations.

The history of the Moros now in the Philippines naturally divides itself into three periods: 1st. Prior to the discovery of the Islands by Magellan in 1521; 2d. Under Spanish sovereignty; 3d. From the Treaty of Paris to the present date.

They are divided into two important groups; viz., the *Magindanao* group whose headquarters were on the Island of Mindanao and the *Sulu* group, who occupied the Sulu Archipelago. The word "Mindanao" is the Spanish spelling of the group who made their headquarters at Cotabato and the original word means inundated, since the great valley of the Rio Grande River which flows into the sea near Cotabato, their capital, overflows its banks during the wet season and enriches their rice lands as the Nile does for Egypt.

By all authorities, I believe, the Moro is believed to have come from the same ethnic root as the Christian Filipino but probably represents a later invasion of the pure Malay stock. There is nothing in the history of either branch of the Moros prior to the introduction of Mohammedanism which has any special value

historically. While Columbus was learning his first lessons in geography in his native city of Genoa, the first Mohammedan teacher, a mestizo of Malay and Arabian blood named Kabungsuwan, established himself among the Magindanao Moros in the Cotabato Valley.

The teachings of the prophet spread among the primitive people with its accustomed rapidity and but a short time intervened until both branches of the Magindanao Moros, that is to say, the river Moros or the Iranum branch occupying the great river valley and the Ranao branch occupying the region of which Lake Lanao is the center, became strong adherents of the faith. Less than a century, however, after the coming of Kabungsuwan to Mindanao and as if to presage the future conflict between Islam and Christianity, Magellan, completing his remarkable voyage around South America, touched on the north coast of Mindanao and said the first mass in the Philippines near the present site of Butuan, in the Province of Agusan. Less than half a century later, in 1654, Legaspi was sent from Mexico to take possession of the entire Archipelago in the name of Spain.

On the Malecon drive in Manila, overlooking the Luneta, where all Manila turns out in the evening to hear the band play and watch the beautiful sunsets over the hills of Bataan, stands a monument to Legaspi, the soldier, upholding the flag of Spain in his left hand, in his right a drawn sword protecting Urdaneta the Monk, upholding the cross. The combination accurately typifies the militant Christianity of Spain's early colonial policy and it requires but little imagination to see that the future relations between the Spaniard in the north and the Moro in the south would be one of continuous hostility. Kabungsuwan retained during his life the title of "Sharif," an Arabic word meaning a prince descended from Mahomet. His subordinate chiefs assumed the name of Dattos, while at Cotabato there existed a single leader who called himself "Sultan" and whose rule was only loosely enforced from the Gulf of Davao to Dapitan. By the middle of the 18th century Cotabato was a flourishing settlement, the capital of Mindanao, where a considerable number of foreigners, principally Chinese, had settled and engaged in trade. The introduction of gunpowder gave advantage to the Moros over the more primitive people who refused to accept the teachings of the prophet and they were driven into the higher altitudes where they still are found under the names of Tirurays, Manobos, Bilans, Tagbilis, Subanos, etc. The Spanish administration of Mindanao appears always to have been separate from that of Sulu, the headquarters of the one being at Cotabato and the other at Jolo. In 1837, the Sultan of Mindanao submitted to a treaty with Spain which acknowledged Spanish sovereignty and gave to the Governor-General at Manila a voice in selecting the successors to the Sultan. The Spaniards

established a naval base at Polloc, in Parang Bay, near the mouth of the Rio Grande River which is at present a military reservation of the United States.

In 1872 the Spaniards moved the headquarters of their Mindanao administration to Zamboanga which is much more strategically located and has an excellent harbor. During the administration of General Blanco as Governor-General at Manila he undertook a conquest of the Ranao branch of the Magindanao Moros situated around Lake Lanao. Starting from the town of Iligan on the north coast they fought their way laboriously up the Agus River and finally established themselves on the north shore of the Lake at a point now occupied by the Military Reservation of Camp Keithley. They brought up four excellent launches and several steel lighters by bull carts from the coast, established machine shops and a ship railway where they assembled these boats and launched them on the Lake. The Spanish troops which consisted of two regiments of native troops under Spanish officers and some Spanish engineers were in a continuous state of siege on land and their camp near the lake shore was a fortified post with earth walls and a moat. They maintained themselves here, however, until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, when they sunk their lighters and launches and retired to the seacoast, destroying the suspension bridge over the Agus River.

Today every foot of the Lake and the surrounding country has been explored, peace and prosperity exists and the Moro has given up all idea of opposition to American sovereignty.

Returning now to the Sulu branch of the Moros we find them occupying several groups of islands extending from Mindanao to Borneo. The principal islands are Basilan, Tawi Tawi, Siasi and Sulu. On the last named island is located the City of Jolo which has always been the capital of this group. The Archipelago separates the Celebes from the Sulu sea. The great wealth of the islands, which has attracted to them Orientals and Europeans of all nationalities, consists principally in their pearl fisheries. In 1913 pearls were exported valued at more than 1,600,000 *pesos*. With the purchasing power which the pearls have given them they have been able to satisfy their Oriental tastes with silk, amber, silver, camphorwood and porcelain from China and Japan; gold-dust, wax, dyes, saltpeter, foodstuffs and slaves from Luzon and Visayas; gunpowder, cannon, brass, copper, iron, rubies and diamonds from Malacca and Borneo; pepper and spices from Java, the Malaccas and Celebes. It is small wonder that with such a trade as this the business of a large part of the Malay of Sulu should have become as elsewhere that of piracy.

As with the Magindanao branch there is but little of historical value prior to the advent of Islam. Practically at the same time that an Arabic scholar was teaching Mohammedanism at Cotabato,

Abu Bakr, a famous authority on law and religion in Malacca reached Sulu, was adopted as heir of the reigning Datto and later assumed for himself the title now famous in comic opera as the "Sultan of Sulu." Though less than 60,000 in number, under the impetus of Islam, which organized both the church and the government, the Sulus made themselves felt over all the Philippines, the Celebes, North Borneo and the China Sea. Almost at the time the pilgrims landed at Plymouth they established in the Island of Burias a piratical center from which they raided the east and west coasts of Luzon, including the Bay of Manila and the shipyards of Cavite. In the same year, 1636, in which the Pilgrims drove Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Spaniards sent a strong expedition under General Corcuera to subdue the Sulus. He captured their capital on the Island of Sulu, but they did not follow up their advantage and the post was abandoned, and for 200 years the Spaniards never obtained a permanent footing on the Sulu Archipelago. They contented themselves with numerous small expeditions which accomplished nothing more than to intensify the hatred of the Moros and furnish cheap military fame for the Spanish commanders.

Attracted by the rich pearl fisheries France and England in the middle of the 19th century endeavored to obtain a foothold in the Islands and in 1848 Sir James Brooke, the famous Rajah of Sarawak, made a treaty with the Sultan in which the latter agreed to maintain the open door for commerce and acknowledge no sovereign power without the consent of Great Britain. Alarmed by this the Spaniards sent another expedition and took possession of Jolo in 1850, retaining it until it was surrendered to the Americans. A Royal Order established a military government for the group and gave financial assistance to the Jesuits in an unsuccessful endeavor to convert them to Christianity. Due to the fact that the jurisdiction of the Sultan of Sulu extended also over North Borneo, Spain, in order to avoid difficulty with England, relinquished all sovereignty over any part of the Island of Borneo and the Sultan gave up his sovereign rights in favor of the British North Borneo Company.

The ablest of the Spanish governors was Juan Arolas, a Spanish engineer appointed governor in 1886. He constructed various public works, laid out and planned streets bordered with trees, eliminated unsanitary conditions, gave the city a system of water works and constructed several well built roads to neighboring towns. His rule, however, was marred by constant fighting due to his attempt to impose his own choice of Sultan on the people in derogation of the hereditary rights of the lawful successor.

The last Spanish governor of Sulu was Luis Huerta who evacuated the City of Jolo in 1899 and turned over the command to American troops.

Before passing to American sovereignty let us glance at the reasons of the failure of Spain in dealing with the Moros. England has built up her colonial empire on four basic principles:

1st. Perfect maintenance of public order. Spain was never able to enforce upon the Moros her authority sufficiently to effect this, and she made the mistake which has been so frequently made in our own history of sending forces entirely inadequate to the military necessities of the occasion, the repulse of which, or their inability to enforce absolute obedience to their commands, served only to intensify the hatred of the Moro and his lack of respect for the Spaniard.

2d. Absolute equality in civil rights. The Moro successfully resisted every attempt to enforce the Spanish law in his personal relation with the Spaniard or with his fellow Mohammedan.

3d. The preservation of all native laws. Spain endeavored unsuccessfully to change their law which is a part of their religion, and in particular endeavored to enforce upon them rulers of her own choice regardless of their rights of succession under the Mohammedan law.

4th. Non-interference with religion. Spain's attempt to enforce Christianity on the Moros foretold disaster from the start. In the three centuries and a half in which she was in command she was unable to make any converts.

You will recall that Manila fell in August, 1898, the insurrection against the United States broke out in February 1899, while the Treaty of Peace of Paris was not signed until April of that year. The period from August, 1898 until the outbreak of the insurrection and the signing of the Treaty was one of great responsibility on the part of the American commander in the Islands. First, because neither he nor any one else knew whether we were going to retain the entire Archipelago and therefore whether he should send troops to relieve the Spanish garrisons in the Southern Islands, and secondly, after the outbreak in Manila his inability to spare troops for this purpose. The position of the Spanish commanders at Iloilo, Cebu, Zamboanga and Jolo was most distressing since they were surrounded by a hostile population and cut off from communication with their home government. As soon however as troops could be possibly spared small expeditions were sent to relieve these Spanish garrisons and in July 1899 General Bates arrived at Jolo with instructions to enter into an agreement which has been since erroneously designated a "treaty" with the Sultan of Sulu, the prime purpose of which was to maintain the status quo in this part of the Archipelago until conditions were such in the north that it could be taken care of. Spain and other countries had made numerous treaties with the Sultan. The agreement which he entered into accomplished this purpose and was approved by the

President with the single exception of article 10, which in the original read as follows:

"Any slave in the Archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master their market price."

This was changed in Washington to read:

"Every slave in the Archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master their market price."

And the Sultan was informed that the subject of slavery and peonage should be reserved for further conference and agreement. This agreement remained in force until 1903, when the United States, having discovered in the meantime that the existing authority of the Sultan was merely nominal and that he had been unable to maintain order as he had agreed, gave notice that the agreement was abrogated.

You can well imagine the feeling with which the Moros who were assembled in large numbers in the City of Jolo watched the flag of Spain hauled down, the stars and stripes run up, and American soldiers replace those of Spain, as the latter marched silently down the main street to their transport and embarked for Manila. Certainly they were glad to see the Spaniard go but they must have asked themselves what manner of men had come to replace them. However, from May, 1899, until July, 1903, the American troops maintained a peaceful occupation of Jolo and points in Mindanao. In 1903 the Philippine Commission passed the first organic act for the Moro Province. It designated the new district as the Moro Province and divided it into five districts—Jolo, Zamboanga, Lanao, Cotabato and Davao—that is to say, it embraced all of the Sulu Archipelago and the Island of Mindanao except the Christian provinces of Misamis and Surigao and the province of Agusan with its sub-province of Bukidnon which were administered from Manila. The details of this government were outlined for you this morning by General Wood and I shall not weary you with a repetition of them. The Governor could be an Army officer and this office continued to be administered by an officer of the Army until 1913. This first organic act with some amendments has worked well and brought prosperity to the Moro Province. In the report of General Pershing, the last Military Governor, in 1913, he states: "Officials of the Province have governed the Moros justly and have given them a favorable impression of us as a people. They look to us for the future uplift of their people and for the education of their children; for the first time in history Moros have begun to make deposits in bank, the deposits in the branch bank at Jolo amounting to over 60,000 pesos since the bank opened three months ago."

In 1911 the disarmament of the whole Moro population was commenced as it was found impossible permanently to maintain public order otherwise. While at first opposed, it was soon acquiesced in

and finally accomplished with but little resistance. Excellent results from this may be confidently anticipated.

In 1913 upon the recommendation of the Governor-General and of the Commanding General in the Philippine Islands, and with the approval of the Secretary of War, it was decided to take another step in the development of the civil government in the Moro Province by making the Governor a civil officer. The first appointment to this important office was Mr. F. W. Carpenter, well known for many years for his able administration of the office of Executive Secretary in Manila. To show their confidence in him an act was soon afterwards passed transferring Agusan and Bukidnon to the Moro Province, thus giving him control of all non-Christian territory in Mindanao. Recently the Philippine Commission has passed a new organic act for the Province or Department of Mindanao and Jolo, as it is now called. The act retains the Legislative Council of five appointed by the Governor-General, but elevates the districts to the dignity of provinces with a provincial government in each of the seven provinces consisting of a governor and secretary appointed by the department governor and a third member who is elected. Municipal governments modified to suit the varying degrees of advancement of their inhabitants are to be organized consisting of a president appointed by the Provincial Governor, an elected vice-president and a councillor for each barrio.

Thus briefly we have sketched an outline of the Moro under Islam and Christianity. Today he stands a primitive man, shorn of his arms, brave, haughty, virile and fanatical, presenting in his contrasts of lasting friendship and cruel revenge, traits of character which few Western people are ever able to comprehend. The Moro problem therefore is simply this: to erect upon the decaying power of his feudal datuships the foundations of republican municipalities. From the beginning, those charged with the solution of this delicate problem have given to the Moro protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity, thereby faithfully fulfilling the instructions of President McKinley to the Philippine Commission in April, 1900.

"I charge this commission," he said, "to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors *all* the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States." (Applause.)

LIEUT. COL. C. D. WILLCOX, U. S. A., Professor in the United States Military Academy at West Point, and formerly on the General Staff at Manila, gave a very interesting talk on "Wild Tribes of Northern Luzon." Because of lack of time to complete his

remarks, Colonel Willcox requested that the partial description be omitted from the printed proceedings.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. GEORGE H. FAIRCHILD, Manila, Resident Partner in the Philippines of Welch, Fairchild & Co., Inc.

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE H. FAIRCHILD

For the last sixteen years the United States has been in possession of the Philippines, and during that time amazing changes have taken place in these historical Islands. Manila, once the pest-hole of the Orient, is today admittedly the healthiest city in the Far East, with a death rate that compares favorably with that of any American city. Small-pox, cholera, dysentery, bubonic plague and malaria, formerly so fearfully prevalent, have been almost entirely eliminated in Manila, and everywhere in the archipelago the general health conditions have been wonderfully improved. Thousands of schools have been established throughout the Islands, at enormous expense, and are attended by six hundred thousand children. Thousands of miles of excellent macadamized roads extend over the different provinces. Fine government buildings have been erected in the various towns and cities. The Moros, who used to harass and terrorize certain districts, have been subjugated. Law and order prevails, and the people enjoy a degree of liberty unheard of in the old days.

The visitor to the Philippine Islands, seeing all the marvels that have been accomplished, would at once exclaim: "How deeply grateful must the Filipino be to the Americans who have done all these things!" He would not be in the Islands very long, however, before he heard the continual talk of independence. At first this would surprise him. Seeking an explanation, some would tell him that the desire for independence was confined entirely to politicians, or "politicos," who, when the Islands were independent, would be enabled to get easy jobs, at high salaries, and enrich themselves by graft; others that the Malays are an imaginative race, that they are crying for the moon, that it is a childish desire to get something which is not good for them. The Filipino politician, of course, would give entirely different reasons, based on the loftiest patriotic motives. I shall attempt to show that an unprejudiced investigator would at last learn that, like all similar conditions of unrest throughout the ages in other parts of the world, the agitation for independence is largely due to economic causes.

Almost from the inception of American occupation the Filipinos

were told that it was the intention of the United States to grant them complete independence as soon as they were fitted for it. They were continually reminded and encouraged to work for this end. Many of the people are men of property, education, and of a much higher order of intelligence than properly supposed, more particularly those of mixed Spanish or Chinese or other descent—"the mestizos." These recognize the advantages of stable government, with its attendant law and order, vastly improved educational and sanitary conditions, and immunity from foreign attack.

By legislation enacted in 1909, under which the products of the Philippine Islands were admitted into the United States duty free, many of these Filipinos have been benefited by the increased economical advantages of closer commercial relations with the United States and to them independence at an early date without assurance of immunity from foreign aggression means certain disaster, their country involved in intrigue, culminating, after a short and stormy attempt at self-government, in occupation by some other power. They know that among the population of the Philippine Islands there are backward tribes, speaking different languages, having different customs, antagonistic to each other, and with very little in common. In the mountains are the wild tribes, which the Spaniards had never governed; to the south are the fierce Moros, who, for centuries, had terrorized the Filipino farmers to such an extent that to produce more than was sufficient to sustain life was to invite disaster.

When the independence movement first started the number of Filipinos opposed to it was considerable and influential, but receiving no encouragement whatever from the American government in their attempts to form a political party having for its object the continuance or permanency of American rule in the Philippines, the prudent course for any Filipino was to support the independence movement.

The official statement of the intentions of the United States in regard to the Islands was that we were merely holding them in the capacity of trustees, and endeavoring to educate and train our wards as rapidly as possible, to take charge of their own property. In this connection I shall now digress for a moment to contrast our policy in the Islands with that of the colonial policy of Great Britain.

The American Revolution was not caused by an irrepressible desire on the part of the colonies to be free from the dominion of Great Britain, but because she was retarding the development of the American colonies, passing oppressive laws and denying them the right to the prosperity which was naturally theirs. Great Britain learned a lesson from the American Revolution, and she has not lost a colony since. Spain did not profit by her example, and we found the Philippines in revolt against Spanish rule.

Our experience with colonies is limited and very recent; Great Britain's is very extensive and she has been conspicuously successful in administering them since the American Revolution.

Why are Great Britain's possessions so loyal to her? What has she done to deserve this? Does she hold before them the promise of complete independence? Far from it. But there must be some reason for her success in administering colonies. What is it?

Great Britain's strength, and the tangible evidences of her power appeal particularly to her Oriental subjects, who would not appreciate a policy such as that under which we have tried to govern the Philippines. Moreover, she does everything in her power to make her colonies prosperous. She gives her colonies almost complete charge of their own affairs. There is a very close relation between home rule under proper supervision, and prosperity. The desire for independence grows in inverse ratio to the degree of control a country is allowed over its own affairs, and, similarly, in inverse ratio to the extent to which a country is allowed to develop its own resources and its commerce.

Contrast the Philippine Islands with Cuba. The Philippines have a population four times that of Cuba, and an area nearly three times as great. Cuba has rich lands, so have the Philippines. The foreign trade of Cuba amounts to practically \$300,000,000 a year. Had the Philippines advanced in the same ratio since the Spanish-American War, they would have a foreign trade (considering their population and their area) of between three and four times that of Cuba. Cuba has a revenue of \$37,940,000; that of the Philippine Islands ought to be at least \$120,000,000. Instead of that, the revenues of the Philippine Islands for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, amounted to only \$13,490,000. Think of the public work in the Philippine Islands that could be done with an adequate revenue and the crying need for such work.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent on Philippine roads and public works and buildings. The upkeep and administration of such public works amounts to 25% annually of the original cost, hence the greater the expenditures for this class of work to maintain and utilize them profitably, the greater the need of a corresponding increase in the revenues.

Right here I want to call attention to a fact, unique in the annals of government. Since American occupation the public works of the Philippine Islands, which have attracted world-wide attention, have been paid for and are as well maintained, out of the current revenues of the government. With the exception of \$5,000,000 of government bonds sold for public works and the water works bonds of the city of Manila to the amount of \$4,000,000, not a dollar of debt has been passed on to future generations.

Without such development the tens of thousands of children that are being turned out of the schools of the Islands can find no

profitable employments; being educated, they feel themselves above the kind of work their parents are willing to do. To educate a man in a country where there is very little opportunity for him to earn a livelihood is simply to breed discontent. The remedy is not less useful education, but increased opportunity for educated men and women.

I have already spoken of the great advantages which the Islands obtained through the free admission of their products, notably sugar and tobacco, in return for which advantage they had to allow all American goods free entry into the Philippines. In fact this is the only substantial thing that the United States has ever done for the commercial development of the Islands. This deprived the Philippine government of a large amount of customs revenue. Under the new tariff bill, American goods still have the right of free entry into the Philippines, but Philippine sugar will no longer enjoy after May 1st, 1916, any of the advantages which it had over sugars from non-privileged countries.

The foreign trade before the passage of this legislation amounted to only \$58,800,000, while in 1912,—three years after this bill was passed—it amounted to \$104,800,000, an increase of nearly 80%. The passage of this bill attracted some capital to the Philippines, but its advent aroused a great deal of hostility in Washington, and was the subject of a congressional investigation.

What is holding the Philippine Islands back, and why has agricultural development fallen so far short of the wonderful achievements of the Americans in sanitation, education and government? First, lack of capital. The Philippines are an agricultural country, and the prosperity of those Islands must come from agricultural development. There are millions of acres of wonderfully fertile lands, overgrown with a grass called cogon. The eradication of this grass is a simple process, when steam plows are used, but economically impossible with carabao and cattle-drawn plows. Each set of these steam plows costs, landed in the Philippine Islands, about \$20,000. It is at once apparent that, for the reclamation of these cogon lands by plowing and installing draining and irrigation systems, without which they will remain valueless, a very large amount of capital is needed before the work is started, and this means that the work has to be done by corporations.

Every Filipino agriculturalist is in need of financial assistance. Machinery must be acquired if the processes are to be modernized. By the native methods of sugar production, fully forty per cent of the available sugar is lost, and the quality of that obtained is hopelessly inferior to that required by the markets of the world. Only by gradual development and the intelligent investment of millions can the sugar industry be enabled to compete with the sugars from Cuba, Java and Hawaii.

The laws of the Philippine Islands today governing agricultural corporations are the most drastic of any on earth. In fact, so drastic are they that it is a literal impossibility for agricultural corporations of the kind needed to engage in operations in the Philippine Islands. Their holdings are limited to 2,500 acres of land, and the revenue from this acreage would be wholly insufficient to induce any corporation to go to the expense of purchasing the necessary equipment to operate it. To induce capital to go 12,000 miles away from home, it is absolutely necessary to offer a much larger return than could be secured at home. There are innumerable risks that capital must run in going into the tropics, where the forces of nature, typhoons, the danger of insurrection, locusts, diseases of man, beast and plants, drought, rats, floods and so on, handicap the efforts of man to an extent unknown in the temperate zone. One must figure on getting much more than 10% because an unfavorable year can easily wipe out the profits of several good years. Capital knows all these things, and as a result, very little of it has gone into the Philippine Islands.

The land laws for the Philippines were made in Washington so soon after our occupation of the Islands that no one was fully conversant with the needs and the nature of the country. The sole purpose of those laws was to prevent the exploitation of the Philippine Islands. Exactly what meaning this word conveys to the average American, I do not know, but if anybody thinks the Philippines is a "get-rich-quick" country he is utterly ignorant of the stupendous tasks that face the pioneer out there. If the word "exploit" means to get something for nothing, the Philippines are non-exploitable.

As a result of the land laws at present in force, there are millions of acres of government-owned lands that not only bring in no revenue, but are the worst kind of a menace to the health and prosperity of the country. These lands are the breeding places of mosquitoes and particularly of locusts, which lay their eggs in these vast untilled stretches, and when hatched out invade the cultivated fields in sun-darkening swarms, leaving absolute devastation in their trail. Malaria is fearfully prevalent in places in the Philippines and in some localities deadly to a degree unknown almost anywhere else. The presence of Rinderpest, which kills the carabao and cattle by the thousands, and Surra, which attacks the horses and mules, have thus far defied the efforts of the government to stamp them out. These are diseases which have only disappeared in other parts of the world when the wild lands have been put under cultivation.

The country cries out to be settled, to be reclaimed, to be drained and irrigated, and to be free from its pests and diseases.

To reclaim by extensive drainage and irrigation systems the rich alluvial lands of the great coastal plains throughout the Philip

piners, would cost but a fraction of what those lands would then be worth. When this is done, they would be as productive and as valuable as the rice lands of Japan, and of the Yangtse Valley in China, which are worth from \$500. to \$750. an acre.

Should the land laws now in force be modified, the development of the country with the present labor supply would be slow. The Filipinos as a race are not efficient workmen. Some ascribe this to their inherent indolence, but this I have found to be not wholly true. Before accepting applicants for work on our sugar plantation, they are required to pass a medical examination, and a shockingly large percentage of the applicants are found to be suffering from hook-worm, malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases. My wonder is, not that the average Filipino is inefficient, but that he is alive. With an adequate revenue, think of the vast humanitarian work the government could do for these people in the way of improving their health; and without health, what does the rest amount to? The average wage of the Filipino farm laborer amounts to a mere pittance per day, for, due to his physical condition, he is not able to earn more.

I do not want anything that I have said to be construed as a criticism of the American officials in the Philippine Islands who were responsible for the execution of the laws enacted by Congress. This would not be just. Great and lasting credit is due them for what they have accomplished in spite of the handicaps under which they have worked. Had Congress long ago acted in accordance with their recommendations, economic development would not have lagged behind as it has done.

The Filipinos do not want capital restrained from developing their agricultural resources; they do want to safeguard their own interests, and prevent all their land from passing into alien hands, but there is a wide gulf between regulation and practical prohibition.

Right here I shall speak of the opportunity presented by the war for rehabilitating a merchant marine, increasing and extending American trade and financial institutions in South America and the Orient. In the growing enthusiasm over the prospects of increased foreign trade, should we not consider the possibilities of the Philippine Islands, where our own flag flies? A large proportion of the tropical products which will be required in increasing quantities, can be produced there, and the more these Islands are developed, the more they will take of American industrial products. This would increase enormously the opportunities for skilled labor in the United States. Within a radius of 2,500 miles from Manila—about the distance from New York to Panama—dwell not 35,000,000, the population of South Africa, but one-half of the 1,623,000,000 estimated world's population.

The possibilities of such a market are enormous, and profitable

in the extreme. It is to our interest to do nothing to offend the national or the individual self-respect of those people. Their suspicions, if not hostility, were first aroused by the extension to the Philippine Islands in 1899 of the Chinese Exclusion Act. At the time our government said that its actions were solely in the interest of the Filipinos. The result, nevertheless, was a serious blow to American business in the Orient; American goods were boycotted, and American business interests seriously embarrassed, to the advantage of foreign interests.

The Filipinos should be given the right to say whether or not they wish to restore to the Chinese the same opportunities to enter and operate in their country that they had prior to American occupation, opportunities which are still enjoyed by the Japanese.

The Japanese cannot be restrained from going into the Islands. The Chinese, until 1899, came over in large numbers; many of them live there at present, and to a considerable extent, have inter-married with the Filipinos. Some of the influential citizens of the Philippine Islands today are of mixed Chinese and Filipino descent. A son of a Chinese father and a Filipino mother is always a loyal and enthusiastic Filipino. But the Filipino should be the party to say whether or not he wants the Chinese, not the American.

The case in a nut-shell, therefore, is this: The Philippine Islands enjoy only a fraction of that prosperity which is naturally theirs, and this condition of affairs is due to laws passed by the United States for them. If they choose to maintain such laws, well and good, but if they desire to see their country advance, and to be governed by laws which make for such prosperity and advancement, instead of laws which retard it, the United States should allow them this privilege.

The people of this country have heard a great deal about the Philippine Islands from politicians and others, and very little from the American business men resident there. Some of our statesmen feel that our presence in the Islands will some day bring us into trouble with Oriental nations, hence they want the United States to relinquish the Islands, not for the good of the Philippines, but for the good of the United States. The serious thinkers among our people realize the obligations which this country assumed in taking over the Philippines, and do not advocate cutting them adrift until this can be done with propriety.

Business in the Philippine Islands has suffered very severely from the uncertainty prevailing as to what their future political status is to be; there is nothing that strangles business so much as uncertainty. Last year when European bankers were approached for the purpose of obtaining capital for the development of the agricultural resources of the Philippine Islands, we were given to understand that, until the uncertainty as to the future of the

political status of the Philippine Islands was definitely settled, foreign bankers could not advise clients to make any investments of a permanent nature there. Hence the business men of the Philippine Islands earnestly desire an early passage of legislation by Congress in regard to those Islands which will make friends of foes, rectify the errors of a policy which, however well intentioned, will fail if not amended in the near future in a manner that will promote prosperity, remove uncertainty and facilitate the establishment of an era of better feeling between the Americans of both political parties at home as well as those in the Islands, and more important still, between the Filipinos and the Americans resident in the Philippine Islands. Should the spirit and intent of the desire to help the Filipinos solve their difficulties, to which Congressmen of both parties in the House have recently given expression, be enacted into law, in my opinion the possibility of independence is deferred until such time as the Filipino people in numbers, ability, resources and power will be fully capable of becoming an independent nation competent to maintain stable government and to protect life and property from internal disturbance and external aggression.

To those who desire that the United States should get out of the Philippines as soon as possible, I would say: "Do everything in your power to advance the prosperity of the Philippine Islands. Political independence without commercial independence is slavery. Make the Philippines commercially independent and prosperous, and the day you wish for so earnestly, when the United States with all propriety can give up the Islands, will be brought much nearer to hand."

To those who desire an indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands, I would say: "Give the Philippines an opportunity to make themselves prosperous, for there is nothing like hard times to breed discontent. Let the Filipinos see that the American flag means real prosperity, development, peace and plenty. Follow Great Britain's custom; give them a large measure of control over their own affairs, with judicious safeguards, and do not assume they will exercise their power except for the betterment and advancement of their country. With such a measure of home rule the Filipino, prosperous and regulating his own affairs, is likely to be more content than he is at present to remain under the American flag for an indefinite period of time." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from MR. CHARLES M. SWIFT, Detroit, Mich., President of the Manila Electric Railway and Light Company.

STATE INDEPENDENCE AND PERSONAL INDEPENDENCE

REMARKS BY CHARLES M. SWIFT, ESQ.

I have been in the Philippines a number of times, being connected with two railway corporations, one of which is located in Manila and one on the islands of Panay and Cebu. I do not propose to go into details. As far as our Manila enterprise is concerned it is highly successful. We do business there exactly as it is done in this country. We have one or two novel points in our business as we maintain on our pay-roll eighteen men who do nothing but play baseball! We also have sixty men who do nothing but play music in a brass band! These are some of the sacrifices we have to make to public opinion, and we are very glad to make them. We contribute to the gaiety, and Manila is one of the gayest and most delightful cities on earth. I may say also that we began Filipinizing our service long before Congress talked about Filipinizing their service. We began almost immediately with native motormen and conductors and with native assistants all through our work, and they are very good men, do splendid work. I do not believe there is a better set of motormen and conductors in the world. In our accounting department we have one white man and a white boy, and the rest of the force are natives, and they do their work extremely well, as in the railways where all the employees with the exception of three or four men are natives. From knowing what he has done and does as an employee, from seeing how faithful he is, how lighthearted, how merry, what a good baseball player he is, and how well he plays in the band, I am very fond of the Filipino and wish him everything good on earth; I wish for the Filipino the same liberty and the same independence that I have. In business, however, we learn to be a little cautious about making promises. I sometimes wonder whether the United States, in promising national or state independence to the Philippine Islands will ever be able to deliver the goods. State independence is a different thing from individual independence. No nation is independent or can be made independent unless it can be made able to defy the world; it must be safe from foreign aggression, and our surrendering the Philippine Islands and leaving them alone will not produce that result. They must have a protector and as long as they have a protector I certainly, for one, am in favor of that protector being the United States of America and not any other nation or any other combination of nations. (Applause.) As for individual liberty and individual independence, I am in favor of their having it to the very largest extent that it is possible for them to have it. They have now the same measure of personal liberty that we have,—that is to say, they have protection against foreign aggression and protection, which is very important, against possible

domestic tyranny; they live under the sanction of the American laws and the American spirit, and as long as they do that they have exactly the same liberty and the same independence that we have. People forget sometimes that we do not live in independent states. I live in the state of Michigan, many of you live in the state of New York; we do not live in independent states. I know there are some here from south of the Mason and Dixon line, and they can remember, perhaps, that they do not have state independence. We did not give it to them, but some of the inhabitants in those states, perhaps, have a greater personal independence than they would have had if state independence had been given to the South. Isn't it possible that by giving state independence we may rob the Filipino of his personal and individual independence? As far as state independence is concerned, I am perfectly willing the Filipino should have it whenever he can establish his country as a nation, able to protect itself against foreign aggression and prove to us that he has at the same time so absorbed the American spirit and has become so possessed of American ideals, and so taken up with American practices, that his citizens will likewise have individual independence. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Conference will now have an address by MISS ANNE MACILVAINE, of Trenton, N. J., who has spent most of the past summer traveling in the Philippines.

REMARKS BY MISS ANNE MACILVAINE

When I left our country last December I desired to spend two weeks in the Philippines that I might find out something of the real truth as to the conditions out there. I spent two months! I appreciate very fully the great thing that is needed is public opinion in this country with regard to the Philippines.

The original owners of the Islands were the Negritos, who now live almost like monkeys and are singularly unteachable. Succeeding invasions of Malay tribes followed, settling in different sections until the Moros arrived, a brave warlike people who would have doubtless made a conquest of the whole territory if the Spanish had not come and taken possession. In a war for humanity, the American nation conquered the Spaniards and in addition paid a large sum establishing an unquestionable right over all others. How to use this right for the ultimate good of all concerned is our problem.

The whole Orient is interested in the work in the Philippines and our solution of this problem. The English officials in India are saying splendid things about the work already accomplished and one of the leading men in the government recently said—"The most successful piece of colonization ever done is your work in the Philippines." And men of all nationalities who are interested in

colonies speak words of praise for the results of the efforts of our representatives.

On landing in Manila, your satisfaction is much increased to find the beautiful tropical city clean, sanitary and well governed.

Manila has within its boundaries what is universally conceded to be the best prison in the world. From the watch tower as a centre the different buildings radiate like the spokes of a wheel. A group composed of various nationalities was surveying from the tower the prisoners as they marched from the workshops to the court, went through their physical drill, stood at attention, while their band played "The Star Spangled Banner," marched to get their suppers and then to their dormitories. A distinguished Frenchman was looking on with absorbing interest and finally exclaimed, "But this is not a prison. It is a man factory." (Applause.) An ex-convict has the first chance for employment on the Islands as he is always considered the most desirable applicant.

Another branch of the system is San Ramon in Mindanao. Here the plan is on the lines of a great agricultural school. The groves of cocoanut palms, fields of pineapples, orchards of mangoes, bananas and cacao and gardens of innumerable tropical vegetables make a setting of beauty for the prison buildings.

The 559 Moro prisoners are largely murderers but the enthusiastic Superintendent resents any horror expressed at that statement. For generations these people have been trained in an atmosphere conducive to these results.

Within this stockade they are taught the value of human life and self-control; besides manual labor. After they have been in the institution for a time and shown themselves trustworthy they are appointed to a position at the head of a group of workmen and designated as "trusties," who become very proud of their responsibility.

The Executive of Mindanao, Governor Carpenter, who is one of our officials doing a fine work, says the height of his ambition is to convert every Moro man into a farmer and the women into farmers' wives, and on observation his dream seemed to be sure of realization. On a trip to Keightly, 20 miles back from the coast one sees the Moros, with their little farms, plowing contentedly, where five years ago there was nothing but jungle and no weapons but those of war.

Another important work accomplished by our people is under the direction of the Bureau of Science. Few appreciate the wealth of this land in minerals, hardwood forests, pearls, botanical treasures of food and medicinal values, of entomological possibilities, in fish of many varieties, and in a rare and beautiful decorative flora, including orchids. The Bureaus of Science and of Agriculture have been doing a marvelous work in discovering and making practical these resources and adding also appreciably to the world's scientific knowledge.

The work of the Bureau of Health is known but not sufficiently appreciated. With thirteen cents per capita they have driven out bubonic plague, cholera and small-pox, nearly exterminated mosquitoes and flies and done a wonderful work with leprosy. Dr. Heiser is in the estimation of the people who have seen him work here, one of the greatest men we have in our service. In spite of misunderstandings and persecution, he has accomplished as head of this Bureau, marvelous results. All over the Orient physicians of all nationalities are coming to see "the miracle performed at Manila," and learn of him.

Down in the Southern Islands the fierce Moro has been made the friend of the white man with much difficulty. Having heard the talk of "Independencia," the chiefs have come in without an exception and said to our governors and officers, "We hear you are going to send Filipino governors to rule over us. We have never been ruled by Filipinos and we never will be. We will kill every Filipino on the Island." This is also the feeling expressed by the people of the northern part of Luzon, the Igorots. They have protested stoutly that they will kill before they will accept Filipino domination. Can a Republic founded on ideals of liberty and freedom consistently force people for whom they are responsible, to such a position!

It is indeed a work for us to be proud of that is being done by our men in this far away land, with great conscientiousness and small appreciation. We must help these brown and yellow peoples to higher standards and ideals, for the great chain of nations is as strong as its weakest link and we must do our utmost to give strength to the links for which we are deeply responsible. We took the Philippines honorably and can not throw them off today with honor.

Right here one should speak of Bishop Brent and his superb work in character-building. (Applause.)

Since I left here a glorious woman has given her life for the best there is to live for, and I feel as I never have before that we must all do what is in our power to make the American nation realize that we have a great and glorious responsibility, and shall we not, regardless of politics, help the man at the head of the nation to do what is absolutely right, which is his desire more than anything else in the world! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Professor of Political Science in Columbia University, who has recently returned from a tour of the Far East.

THE CRUX OF THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

REMARKS BY WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, PH. D.

I think I speak for the members of this conference when I say that we ought to feel extremely grateful to Mr. Fairchild for what I regard as the ablest and truest presentation of the Philippine problem that has yet been offered. (Applause.)

We may say justly that our educational system, our work in sanitation, and our administration have been of a high order and have earned the plaudits of other colonizing states; but Mr. Fairchild has put his finger on the real Philippine difficulty. As a student of colonization and as a traveler in many parts of the world, I stand ready to endorse absolutely what he has to say on the matter.

We are very apt to think of the Philippines in terms of the United States. We seem to think that it will be perfectly easy to apply to those Islands and their inhabitants precisely the same ideas, traditions and practices which we have ourselves. If we have any notion of that kind we are absolutely in error, and our attempts must end in lamentable failure unless we are prepared to spend generation after generation in solid labor. We often hear it said that we are ready to promise the Filipinos national independence whenever they have proved themselves capable of forming a stable government. We have never made such a promise as a people. We have never voted upon it at the polls. There have been assertions in political platforms which are made to capture votes but they do not express the sentiment of the intelligent American people. (Applause.)

If we concede the Filipinos independence, it will have to be one of two kinds, either full independence or qualified independence. If we grant them full independence, within a period shorter than two generations, two things, I think, will certainly happen—one is that the islands will fall under an alien power, and the second is that the good results of the American administration will be thrown away. If we give them qualified independence, what will that indicate? It will mean that we shall have to establish over the Philippines a protectorate analogous to that maintained over Cuba and Panama. That is to say, we shall have to control their financial and international activities. We have had considerable trouble in upholding that control in the states very near our own borders. The difficulties will be enhanced when we try to enforce our power some 15,000 miles away.

Granted that this qualified independence is given them, what will be the consequence? What the Filipinos need is a strong, active conscious middle class. That they have not got, and you cannot have a democracy unless you possess a middle class. Now a middle class will require for its formation foreign capital, foreign immigration, and widespread habits of thrift and industry, which I do not

think the most enthusiastic pro-Filipino and most kindly disposed would say they possess as yet, or are likely to possess for some time to come. If they are given qualified independence under our protectorate, it will mean that, unless we stand ready to guarantee their financial attitude and their financial conduct, in general, foreign capital will not only refuse to come, but that which exists there will disappear, both European and American. We have prohibited the immigration of the Chinese, probably against the will of the Filipinos. There is no doubt in the minds of those who know the Chinese that they are the people who could make the Islands prosperous; but if they come they will own the Islands and you will have a Chinese republic, and not a Filipino republic.

Let us pass on to the next question: stable government. What is stable government? Let us have the meaning of the term: A government that is capable of maintaining law and order. I heard it stated this morning that a democratic government is the only one that can assure law and order. I take exception to that. There are plenty of governments in the world today, and there have been plenty of them in the past, not democratic governments, that are capable of maintaining law and order; hence, capable of upholding a stable regime,—not only autocratic but oligarchic governments. What has been the training of the Filipinos? Autocratic and oligarchic. Our training for generation after generation has been one of democracy. Do we think for one moment that we are going to establish a democracy among the Filipinos lacking as they do the essential elements to which I call your attention? If we leave to the Filipinos the kind of a government they will establish, they will unquestionably set up that with which they have been familiar for generations; and they cannot choose a democratic regime because they cannot make it universally applicable. Therefore, if we are willing to grant them their local self-government complete, on condition that they prove their ability to erect a stable government, then, apparently, it must be *our* interpretation of what is a stable government, and the kind of régime which makes it possible.

I had a conversation some time ago with a Filipino, an exceedingly intelligent and educated man, who told me that in his opinion, the Filipino people were not only ready for self-government, but they were ready for complete independence. I said, "What makes you think so?" He answered: "Because we know how to govern ourselves." "What makes you think you know how to govern yourselves?" "Why," he said, "that is a very easy proposition; there are a certain number of places in the government to be filled." "I will admit that," I said. "And we have the requisite number of persons to fill them," he added. (Laughter.) That, I take it, is the expression of the articulate class in the Philippines, the class that makes the most noise in the newspapers, and other agencies

of publicity. But we have no reason to believe that that represents the very much larger class, which does not make so much noise, but which does things, which has the real power and influence. That larger class, in my humble opinion, is firmly convinced that the day has not arrived, and the dawning thereof is not even remotely to be taken into account, when the American flag shall go down, and when the American government now existing shall be replaced by a simple protectorate. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is PAUL MONROE, Professor of History of Education in Teachers' College, Columbia University, who visited the Philippines in 1913.

AMERICA'S OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES A LESSON TO THE ORIENT.

REMARKS BY PAUL MONROE, PH. D.

I shall mention two points only, which concern the manner in which the American public should look at the Filipino problem. Calling to mind the various points brought out throughout the day, and suggesting how we may view them from a somewhat broader aspect than that of their political bearing.

The first concerns the significance of our work in the Philippines. The American people through the Philippines are making a contribution to the solution of many very important Oriental problems which, at the same time, are very important world problems. These Oriental problems are going to become, within the next century, some of the greatest of the world problems—quite as difficult and quite as fraught with danger as the world problems with which the European nations are grappling at the present time. Whether we retain the Philippine Islands or not, we are going to meet these problems.

Dr. Heiser showed how we were making a contribution to the health problem of the Orient,—through the study of leprosy—which is one of the Oriental problems of tremendous importance,—American scientists have made great discoveries. Had he been given time, he could have shown us that in the treatment of almost any Oriental disease,—beriberi, smallpox, cholera, plague,—American scientists and administrators have made similar contributions. These discoveries and administrative improvements not only benefit the Filipino people, but add to the progress of the world.

Another of the speakers spoke of the contributions being made in the religious line. All the great world religions have come from the Orient. Yet nowhere in the Orient do you find that insistence which we believe should be made upon the idea presented this

morning by Mr. Robbins, that the essence and the evidence of religion is real service to your fellow men. Every visitor to the Philippines must have felt that not only does the missionary work in this cause and with this purpose, but the school-teacher and the government official do the same.

This suggests a third contribution, the political contribution which America can make to the Orient through work in the Philippines. Indeed it has made this contribution already. It is that public office is an opportunity as well as obligation for public service. The Filipino will admit it; for he feels the result of it. China feels it; Japan feels it. In the Philippines we have a group of from two to three thousand American officials looking upon their office as an opportunity for the real service of the community, forgetting anything in the nature of an American political party back of them, to which they belong, or for which they must render service. That is something to be attained, something we may hope for ourselves in time, and we will not go far in political evolution until we reach such an interpretation. (Applause.) In the Orient the colonies of all the European countries are feeling this influence.

Something similar is true in commerce. Mr. Fairchild has brought out the great number of contributions Americans are making. Such things are not considered in this light at home. But one becomes conscious of them over there. The Standard Oil can throughout the Orient is a sign of civilization.

It is true that the Orientals have cultivated soil for a thousand years while ours has worn out in one hundred; but this has been done through the subjugation of men and women to an extent which is inconceivable to us and which we could not tolerate for a moment. Now if in addition to their skill in manipulating natural forces we can add the knowledge based on modern scientific investigation, such as the scientific rotation of crops, selection of seed, and so on, we will bring about a phase of freedom of incomparable importance. Many of these ideas are being introduced into the Philippines and the corn campaign mentioned this morning, the school gardens and home gardens have been great means of diversifying their food supplies. Much of the work of the elementary school throughout the Islands and much more of that of the agricultural schools and agricultural college, as well as the Bureau of Science, work to the same ends.

In still another line we are making a contribution. Japan has a school system with a more wonderful and efficient organization than our own. But even Japan turns to the Philippines to find a lesson in education and learn what a school system can do. China is becoming largely dependent upon the suggestions which they may receive from the same source; and the influence on India has been great and promises to be much greater. This is because the

American teachers in the Philippines have actually made a contribution. The things which have been talked about elsewhere they have worked out. Not only may the Orient give some contribution along this line to the Philippine schools, but this may be one of the cases which would have a beneficial reflex action at home. The school teachers in the Philippines were given a chance to work out this idea such as they did not have at home.

For the second point I have just a moment for interpretation. This will be a repetition, I admit, of what I have said before. But I do not believe the American people see this clearly enough; namely, that the real problem is to give the Philippine people liberty and freedom and not merely political independence. There is a fundamental difference between liberty and political independence. If at the present time you were given your choice of selecting your residence in Canada with all its liberty but without political independence, or in Mexico with no liberty but with political independence, which would you choose? It is hardly a fair question. And yet this is exactly the question we are putting to the Filipino people. They are not prepared to answer it. It is not fair they should be called upon to answer it at the present time. What these people need to work for, what we need to help them to obtain, is real liberty, not independence. Mr. Robbins told us how in his little field he was leading the Filipino into spiritual freedom and real liberty of soul. I wish you might have visited with me a man from New York City who was working in the Philippine school system. He was a member of the Christian Brothers, and was doing a most wonderful work. Not only through the school but through the church, did he show these people as they never had known before, how through their own church doctrine and ceremony it was possible for them to obtain spiritual freedom. He was called "the Bishop" in all that region and really had more influence than the church officials.

The same thing may be shown in regard to economics and politics. We think we have made a great advance in political life when we realize that a public office is no longer a private snap, but a public trust. It is as great a step beyond that standard to view public office as an opportunity for human service. That is the point which I think many officials have reached over there to an extent which hardly seems possible to one familiar with conditions at home alone.

Throughout almost every one of these phases of life these people are struggling for real liberty and freedom. It is our obligation and our privilege to help them. We cannot give these things to them. Real liberty is a thing which these people can work out; it cannot come in a generation. I have been fond of putting it,—as was stated this morning by some of the speakers,—in terms of the school generations. If we give these people three school genera-

tions, so that the father and mother at home know something of what freedom means and of the difference between freedom and political independence, so that their children when they come home can confer with their parents about that question, then we may with fairness ask them to solve this problem which we are giving them now. In our own political life we are under the thralldom of the belief that all that is necessary in order to obtain freedom is a certain structure of government. We fondly hope that with laws and elected officials any reform will work itself out. This is a species of political slavery. The Filipinos are more in bonds to that than we are ourselves.

You may have seen a story going the rounds of the newspapers now in regard to a type of question which illustrates my point. Each member of a group was to ask a question, which if everyone else in the group could not answer he was to answer himself. The Irishman in the party stated his question: "How can a groundhog dig his hole without throwing the dirt out behind him?" After it was given up, the Irishman said, "By beginning at the other end of the hole." The logical Scotchman protested and asked, "How could he do that," to which the Irishman replied, "That's your question; answer it yourself." (Laughter.)

There are many of these questions which we can answer or help the Filipino people to answer. There are some they must answer for themselves. One of these questions is when will they have attained sufficient amount of real freedom to make it possible for them to-exercise and enjoy that political independence which they may determine to have. I believe when the time comes the American public will be thoroughly committed to this answer to the Filipino people—"That's your question; answer it for yourselves!" (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Sixth Session

Friday, October 16, 1914, 8 00 P.M.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first topic for discussion this evening is: "Future Relations Between the United States and the Philippines in the Light of Pending Legislation." The presiding officer has been assigned as the first speaker. (Applause.)

THE CONTENT OF THE JONES BILL

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD, M. C.

There has been some discussion during the conference as to the advisability of the adoption of what might be designated as an American policy in dealing with the Philippine Islands. The purpose evidently is to have the United States initiate a policy for the control of the Islands that shall not be discussed from a purely partisan standpoint, but that shall represent practically the sentiment of the people regardless of politics. During the present week the House of Representatives passed a bill that had been under consideration for several weeks. It is known as the Jones bill. Perhaps some misunderstanding has been occasioned because of the title of the bill and the fact that in a previous Congress proposed legislation bearing the same title was in many respects radically different from the bill considered at the present session by the House. Perhaps the provision in the previous bill which aroused the greatest antagonism was that one which provided that at the expiration of a period, if I recall correctly, of eight years, the Filipinos should be granted their absolute independence. I for one, was very gravely in doubt as to the wisdom of such a provision. I, with many others, did not believe that it was either wise or expedient for the United States to determine eight years in advance that the Filipinos would be ready for their independence, or that the conditions would be such that the United States would be justified in granting independence to them. And so, as the result of many conferences and much discussion, that provision was eliminated from the bill. The bill as passed by the House represents the matured policy of the present Administration; it has the endorsement of the present Administration. From the result in the House of Representatives I believe that it can be safely

said that it expresses as nearly as can be expressed the American policy of dealing with the Philippine Islands in the future. Upon a recorded vote, taken upon the passage of the bill, 211 Representatives voted in favor of the bill and 59 in opposition to it. Any bill which passes the House of Representatives after extended controversy by a vote of practically four to one will come as nearly to representing the sentiment of the American people as any legislation that can be enacted. The portion of the bill which excited the greatest controversy and the most partisan contest, strange to say, was the preamble.* The preamble is not a legislative act in the sense that is a law, but it is a method used of making a solemn declaration of the purpose by the Government in its future actions.

It is a declaration of policy upon the part of the Government. It is a declaration that was demanded by a very large and influential element of the Philippine people, and it is a declaration which is in complete accord with the platform of the dominant party now in the control of the nation. I hope I may without offense to any one present dissent from the view expressed here that in the language of olden days political platforms are "not meant to stand on, but to get in on." No public official can afford to assume any such position. A candidate for office or a political party which seeks power upon a declaration of principles and policies cannot, after having invited and received the support of a majority of the electorate, assume that the policies favored and to be carried out in the event of success may be regarded as certain treaties, and be considered merely as "scraps of paper" to be disregarded when it was opportune for the party in power.

The Democratic platform, upon which the party was put in control of the executive and legislative branches of the government, contains this very important and essential paragraph:

"We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the Islands can be secured by treaty with other powers."

The preamble of the Jones bill is a very mild declaration of that provision of the platform, but it is not the declaration of the policy of the Democratic party alone. It is merely putting into concrete expression the policy that has been enunciated and has been contemplated by the Republican party in the years in which it was in control of the government of the Philippine Islands. I undertake to say that no influential group of men or no substantial body of men at any time in the United States has ever taken any other

*For copy of preamble see page 151.

position than that the purpose of the United States is ultimately to grant to the Philippine people their independence. The only question upon which there has been any difference of opinion is the question as to the time when the Philippine people would be fitted to establish and to maintain an independent government. In 1908, Mr. Taft, as Secretary of War, was sent to the Philippine Islands and upon his return he made a most voluminous report. In that report he called attention to the fact that many Filipinos desired that the American people should declare a definite policy as to the Philippines, so that they might be informed as to what that policy was to be. He said he did not believe any more definite statement of policy could be enunciated than the policy declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission. It was practically incorporated in the organic act. "That policy," he said, "is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the Islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility."

It "necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion, as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater, the ultimate independence of the Islands."

In another portion of his report, the Secretary, outlining the policy of the United States toward the Philippine Islands, said:

"Shortly stated, the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplift of the people of the Islands, and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of self-government."

And he added:

"When the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order, and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."

So that the preamble of the Jones bill merely puts in a formal way the uniform policy of the Government and the one intended from the very beginning by the American people, as expressed by the action and attitude of administrations of two opposite political parties. A stable government cannot mean any other government than such a government as can maintain law and order, and can extend equal protection of the law to the rich and to the poor.

The treaty with Spain, by which the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, was ratified on the 11th of April, 1899. Until July 1, 1902, all military and civil power was exercised in the Philippine Islands by the President of the United States through such military and civil offices as he appointed. On the 1st of July, 1902, the organic act was enacted by Congress and it was

designated as an act for the temporary government of the Philippine Islands, which act has now been in force for twelve years, and the proposed law is designed to extend to the Filipinos a much larger measure of control and management in their own affairs. In contemplating the capacity of the Philippine people for self-government, it must not be forgotten that more than a hundred years ago Filipino representatives sat in the Spanish Cortes in Spain, and at one time as many as seventeen representatives of the Philippine people were members of the Spanish Parliament. Before Harvard existed the University of St. Joseph had been established at Manila, where the Filipino youth were educated in the higher branches of learning, in medicine and in law, in literature and philosophy, in science and in art, and an organized system of public schools existed throughout the Islands, while for more than three hundred years they have had the civilizing effects of the Christian religion. Three years ago more than one-half of the Christian inhabitants, constituting as they do more than nine-tenths of the total population of the Philippines, had learned to speak the English language, and today the proportion of those who speak English is much larger, since for several years past the annual attendance in the public schools of about 600,000 Philippine children, taught by about 9,000 teachers, at least 92 per cent of whom are Filipinos, has made possible the acquisition of the English language and the spread of learning to an extent we hardly appreciate. Since 1907, the Filipino legislature has consisted of an appointive commission and an elective body—a commission of nine members appointed by the President of the United States, one of whom is the Governor-General, an assembly composed of Filipinos, elected by the Filipinos themselves. Impartial observers express the belief that this Assembly has done remarkable work in demonstrating the capacity of the people for self-government. Every one does not agree with everything they do, but when we consider how much acrimonious controversy there is over the actions of the United States Congress and of our state legislatures, we cannot expect that perfection of work from the Filipino Assembly that would result in complete acquiescence on the part of every one in all of their actions. Under the present government the Commission has equal authority with the Philippine Assembly in legislative matters over the Christian peoples of the Philippine Islands. It has exclusive executive power and exclusive control of legislation over the non-Christian portion of the Islands. The result has been that the Commission, responsible not to the Philippine people, but to the President of the United States, has taken moneys raised by taxation from the Christian people and spent it at will in the non-Christian provinces. One of the grievous complaints that the Philippine people have had has been the manner in which the Commission has disbursed the public funds in the non-

Christian portions of the territory. One of them was the expenditure of many millions of public revenues in the construction, maintenance and upkeep of the Benguet automobile road in non-Christian territory, which has aroused the indignation of the Philippine people, and is a striking illustration of the necessity for the abolition of the Philippine Commission. This short road, some twenty-two miles in length, has already cost the Filipinos more than \$100,000 a mile. Until recently the majority of the Filipino Commission have been Americans. President Wilson, however, inaugurated a new policy by appointing a majority of Filipinos. The effect was immediately noticeable. Although the Commission and the Assembly for three years were deadlocked upon the appropriation bill, and it was impossible to have the appropriation bill enacted in three meetings of the Legislature, at the last session of the Legislature, with a majority of Filipinos in the Philippine Commission, the appropriation bill was passed by a unanimous vote in both bodies,—not only the Filipinos, but the Americans, uniting in supporting it. This is a somewhat striking illustration of their capacity to govern.

The Jones bill declares, first, who are and who may be citizens of the Philippine Islands. It enacts the Bill of Rights, substantially the personal and property guarantees of the Constitution of the United States. It provides that all the expenses incurred by the Philippine Government be defrayed by moneys raised by taxation in the Philippine Islands; that all the powers that are now conferred upon the Philippine Legislature and the Philippine Commission be exercised by the Philippine Legislature; it continues the laws that are now in force until they are changed by the new Legislature or by Congress; transfers all the public domain to the Philippine Government to be administered for the benefit of the Philippine people; empowers the Legislature, in addition to the usual powers, to legislate on tariff, currency and coinage, but all laws affecting these subjects as well as timber, public lands, and mines, must be approved by the President of the United States before they become effective. It retains in Congress the control of the trade relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands; it creates a legislature of two bodies,—a senate and house of representatives. The Islands are to be divided into twelve senate districts and ninety representative districts, each senate district to elect two senators, each representative district one representative. The governor-general of the Islands without restriction upon residence, is empowered to appoint the two senators and nine representatives from the non-Christian portions of the Islands. One senate district is comprised of those provinces which are not now organized. But the other twenty-two senators and eighty-one representatives are to be elected by the people of the Philippine Islands themselves. The right of suffrage is extended to all who

can read and write in any native language. At present, it is restricted to those who can read or write in English or Spanish. The Governor-General is to be appointed by the President of the United States as are the justices of the Supreme Court. The Governor-General is to appoint all of the officials in the Islands subject to confirmation by the Philippine Senate. The Governor-General has a qualified veto over the legislation enacted by the Legislature. His veto can be overruled by two-thirds vote of both houses, but if such action be taken the bill must be transmitted to the President of the United States and unless he approves it, it will not become a law. The right is reserved to the Congress of the United States to annul any legislative action taken by the Philippine Legislature.

That is a comprehensive outline of the provisions of the bill. Its purpose is to give to the Philippine people the fullest measure of control over their own affairs, and to retain at the same time such control in the President and in the Congress as will ensure protection against hasty, ill-advised or unjustifiable legislation. There has been some criticism of the present administration of the Philippine Islands. It has not been voiced at this Conference, and I do not believe it is justified when the facts are actually known. The present Administration has been "Philippinizing"—to use a word that has recently come into vogue—by placing Filipinos in positions which heretofore have been occupied by American citizens. There has been considerable criticism of such action on the part of the American citizens who have lost the lucrative positions which they have been occupying for some time. And yet it must be apparent to every one that if the Filipinos are ever to administer their own affairs, they must be placed in control of them. Action has not been taken at random, but changes have been made with care and deliberation in compliance with the civil service laws, and wholly in the interest of the public service. As the result of this Philippinizing of the Philippine service, the Philippine Government has reduced its expenditures a million dollars in a year, and it is now arranged to curtail those expenditures \$2,500,000 more. The present administration under Governor-General Harrison has repealed the law which permitted the sale of Friar lands in excess of the area fixed in the organic act. It has created a Public Utilities Commission to prevent the exploitation of the Islands and to protect the people against exorbitant charges. It has enacted a Pure Food and Drugs Act, in line with the progressive sentiment of this country. The judiciary has been reorganized in order more quickly and efficiently to punish offenders against the law. It has substituted civil officials for military in the Moro province, and despite the fears of those who looked upon such action with alarm, there is order, peace, intelligent and progressive work being done in the Moro province under the civilian officials. The Bureau

of Navigation, maintained at a very high cost, with a number of high salaried officials, for the purpose of supervising a governmental fleet used largely for official purposes by the officials of the Philippine Government, was abolished. Considerable criticism has come from this action by those who have lost lucrative positions in that Bureau.

It seems to me that this review of what has been done in the Philippine Islands and a proper understanding of the purpose of Congress leave no doubt that the will of the American people is being expressed in the administration of the Islands and in the legislation for them. The desire of all, regardless of partisan considerations, is to have the Philippine people have a government which will be most conducive to their happiness and prosperity. The policy that is being carried out, was formulated under the direct supervision of President Wilson. I am sure no one believes that he has any desire to exploit the Islands or to bring to the people discomfort or distress; and I am certain that the work, which heretofore with great difficulty and very successfully and with credit to the American people has been carried on, will continue to be done equally successfully, until eventually there is practically an agreement among our people that the time has arrived when the independence of the Philippine people should be granted. When that time comes independence will be granted in such a way that the civilized nations of the world will know that the United States is not casting them adrift to be the prey of some ambitious nation, but that it intends that their independence shall be maintained by all the power and resources of the United States. (Applause.)

I am not one of those who is too anxious that there should be no party division about the policy in the Philippine Islands. Nothing is more conducive to good administration than a strong partisan opposition. If everybody is in accord, the people will hear all of the good things that are being done, and the evil will be kept out of sight. The only way in which the defects of our system or the failures of our administration will be brought to the attention of the American people, and in that way a public sentiment aroused that will necessitate the elimination of such abuses, is by the maintenance of a keen, aggressive, partisan opposition. When I was a member of the minority I did my best to keep up that kind of opposition, and I believe that it would be a great misfortune for the people of the United States and for my own party if there were not the same kind of opposition maintained at this time.

I cannot quit without expressing the very great debt I am under to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for the invitation to preside over this Conference, and I thank them most heartily for the opportunity. I am sure I bespeak for you all the heartfelt gratitude for the innumerable courtesies extended to us by our good hosts, and I wish to be recorded myself as being deeply and doubly indebted to Mr.

and Mrs. Smiley for the many kindnesses they have personally extended to me. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is HON. MORGAN SHUSTER, of New York, formerly Secretary of Public Instruction in the Philippine Islands, member of the Philippine Commission and Treasurer-General of Persia.

THE PHILIPPINES IN 1914

ADDRESS BY HON. W. MORGAN SHUSTER

I would not venture to address the conference on the subject of the Philippine Islands, in view of the number of other speakers, did I not believe that there was a new aspect to the case. Ever since I went to Manila in 1901, both in and out of the Islands I have listened to and participated in discussions ranging over every phase of the Philippine question, from independence to some purely local and economic measure. I believe that certain events which have taken place, during the last three months when properly studied and realized, may throw a somewhat different light upon our attitude as a nation toward the future of the Philippine Islands and the Filipino people. I think, without naming any particular individual or group of individuals, that it is a very easy thing to be smug and hypocritical when some one tells you that you are being altruistic; we have laid the flattering unction to our souls that we are being truly altruistic toward the Philippines, that if we do not stay there they will fall into the hands of Germany, or into the hands of Japan, or of some other nation. I do not believe that any of these assumptions are correct. If we grant the Filipinos independence, they will undoubtedly have some trouble. *We* had a very troublous time after fighting for *our* independence. It was a question fifty years ago whether we would retain it. If the great war in this country had not been settled in the way in which it was, there would have been very serious doubts on several occasions whether either of the halves of the nation would have been able to retain its independence, unless they got together. But the fact that the great nations of the world are today engaged in a life-and-death struggle because of colonial empires and colonial ambitions may point a certain moral to us. If the British Empire consisted of England and Scotland and Ireland, and the French Empire of continental France, I doubt if there would be a war today. It is for colonies that the nations of Europe are fighting—land—far-flung colonies—not for any high moral principle. Spain became a minor nation because of her colonies; we had a small hand in that. We have colonies today. As to our colonies in the West Indies, I say nothing. They are unquestionably so near to us in the Western Hemisphere that the idea of their being under any other flag would

be abhorrent to us. Cuba is only nominally an independent republic. The Cubans realize that fact and we realize it. We have a doctrine of which we are very fond of preaching—the Monroe Doctrine—which says, practically, that the Western Hemisphere shall be politically reserved to the United States. There must be no colonization by European nations. There has been a great deal of discussion of late as to whether it is a sound policy for us to assert; as to whether it would be capable of enforcement, there can be but one answer. That would depend on who might object to it, how many nations, and what their strength might be. But I do not know how the people of the United States, viewing themselves from another's standpoint, can have the face to deny to cultured European nations the right to do in the Western Hemisphere, in its uncultivated and uncivilized parts, what we assert our right to do in the Eastern Hemisphere. I do not know how the American people can claim any right to go over into the Orient and say that there shall be changed manners of living and modes of thinking, that the habits and institutions there shall be changed according to our standpoint, whether better or not, and then deny to other equally powerful, intelligent, and efficient nations the right to do that same thing throughout a great number of minor countries and territories in the Western Hemisphere, where they are just as sadly in need of a political tutor as the Filipinos ever were or could be. It seems to me unjust. It seems to me that it weakens our standing in the court of nations, and despite the shameless manner in which solemn obligations have been violated during the present war I still believe that the only permanent force in the relations of nations to one another will be moral principle and moral right, and never the size of their navies and armies. (Applause.) If I did not believe that, I would feel very hopeless about the permanent success of democratic forms of government. I would feel very hopeless about the future greatness and prosperity of the American people, because no nation, governed under democratic forms, can possibly have such military and naval efficiency—in effect a whole people sleeping upon their arms—as can a monarchical nation, and if it is not possible for the world to recognize that it must be guided by great moral principles, even in dealings between nations, then we had better cease to be a republic, become a monarchy and train our hundred million people for the struggle that will come upon us. I think the fact that treaties have been violated somewhat rudely of late should not be taken as a sign that they will not be more carefully enforced between nations in future, so that it behooves the United States to consider how strong it can make itself as a moral force in the court of nations. It will not do to assume simply that we are right in whatever we do. We must convince the world at large that we are right. It would not, perhaps be a very hard thing to convince the world at large of the fact that

we have a right to keep the Philippine Islands merely as a trade appendage. I think that any other nation in the world which might have taken them by right of conquest (in the benighted phraseology of the times) would have retained them for exploitation, and we are entitled to great credit for not having done wholly that. But the arguments which you have heard so often, in favor of an indefinite retention of the Philippines under the United States flag, are not based on altruism; they are based upon a sentiment created in this country by commercial and business interests (whose right to defend themselves and to take care of themselves I am the first to admit) which mistakenly leads them to suppose that only by controlling the Government of the Philippines can we get advantageous markets in those Islands. Now, even if that assumption is correct, even if increased trade and commerce and an export market for the United States could be retained only by our continuing indefinitely in control of the Filipino Government and of the Filipino people, I do not think that we would have the moral right to do so. But I do not believe that this assumption is correct, and I do not even believe that any legitimate gain, commercial or otherwise, can come to the business interests of the United States through our retaining political control there. I do recall very well, and speak with considerable knowledge, because I was in charge of the Philippine customs service at the time, how American cotton exporters succeeded in getting Congress to pass certain legislation so modifying the Philippine tariff that American cotton goods were shipped to the Islands almost to the exclusion of the British, Spanish and French goods, and it turned out that the change increased the price of the ordinary cotton goods to the Filipinos to a considerable amount, but I am happy to say that this legislation was repealed. It was an example, however, of what was thought by some people to be our rightful attitude toward the Philippine Islands and people. At the present time we have their trade, and American goods are going into the Islands without limitations or duty of any kind.

I was much interested in the account the Chairman of this meeting has given of the recent passage by Congress of the Jones bill. I rather thought that in a way he was apologizing (I do not use the word in any disrespectful sense) for the action of the Democratic party by attempting to show that the Republican party thought pretty much the same way about the subject of the bill. However, I do not think the Democratic party needs any apology for its policy toward the Philippine Islands so far as is shown by the Jones bill. It is a very just and prudent measure, and the only reason why I do not show more enthusiasm over its passage by the House, is that it has not yet passed the Senate. I think that the House has done all that could be expected when it passed the bill with that splendid majority, but I fear the worst when it comes to the

Senate. There are a good many statesmen who are still dwelling in the Spanish war era, when we were beginning to expand and become a world empire, and they think that if we have laid our hands on anything and our flag is flying over it, we ought to keep it there. That is the only real reason which they can offer for not giving the fullest measure of self-government to the Filipino people. The question of when a stable government can be established in the Philippine Islands is one about which we will know just as much one hundred years from now as we do today. I do not think any man could say that the Filipino people could not start a stable and independent government if given the opportunity to-morrow; and they might maintain it without serious difficulty for all the rest of time. It is entirely possible. On the other hand, I do not think any man could say that if they were drilled in the goosetep of government for a hundred years by the most successful tutors we could furnish, and were then given their independence, they would immediately enter upon an era of prosperity and ideal self-government. I do not think that the question is one of time; I do not think that it is purely a matter of technical training. You will note that we in the United States after a century and a half of independence, still have the most incompetent set of municipal governments which could be imagined; municipal governments which would get the German major of a fifth-rate town in jail if he presided over one of them for a month without correcting the waste and abuses. Yet we speak of possessing "efficiency in government." Efficiency in government is not a matter of technique; there are no means of knowing that what is the best government for one place will be the best for another; and there is no way of knowing just what would be a good government for the Philippine Islands. The inhabitants will have to work that out for themselves, if they are ever given a fair opportunity. That any people can start, having been under foreign domination, and suddenly develop a great self-governing capacity, I do not believe. You are all familiar, as I say, with the struggles of our own country when we had only a few million inhabitants. We came through gallantly and nobly and solved those problems, but if the conditions had been such that any strong European nation had at that time desired or thought it advisable to shed the blood and spend the money necessary to come over and conquer the American colonies, it could have been done because they were thoroughly exhausted financially, and in every other way. If we are going to depend on the Filipinos being able some day suddenly to form and put into operation such a model government that no nation could find pretext for objecting to something that happened there, I fear their hopes of independence are very slim. The great objection urged against giving the Filipinos independence has been that the Japanese would come down and take them. Remember, however:

that if the Japanese want the Philippines, they can take them at any time whether we have our flag flying there or not. The war college at Washington can give you further details on that subject. They can take them in a week, and they can put so many troops there that for us to send an army across the Pacific large enough to get them out would be almost beyond military possibility. We would probably try it; we would probably feel it necessary to do so. That might be one of the unpleasant features of the case, but it would be very painful to our pride, and our pocket-books, and the Filipinos would be the spoils. So if Japan wants the Philippines, she can take them, whether they happen to be American territory with our flag flying over them, neutral territory with our guarantee and the guarantee of other nations back of them, or wholly independent. Incidentally, I happened to be talking with a Japanese gentleman a few weeks ago and asked him whether Japan wanted the Philippines. He said: "If my Government could get out of Formosa and Korea and get back where they belong, without going to financial ruin in those two countries, we would be very happy. We are not looking for any further trouble of that kind; you could not give us the Philippines, if you wished." I really believe he expressed the way the Japanese people feel about the matter. I believe that the Japanese are just as anxious to observe their present high place in the family of nations as any other nation in the world. (Applause.) I think that their national conduct has been admirable, both in peace and in war; they have carefully observed their treaty obligations, and any difference of opinion between this nation and the Japanese nation which I have been able to discover is due to some doubt as to whether we are exactly in a position to observe ours toward them. If the Japanese made—as they undoubtedly would make—a treaty with the United States, regarding the neutrality of the Philippine Islands, they would observe it to the letter. The question, after all, is just this: We have declared through one branch of our Government that it has always been our intention to grant them their independence some day. Mr. Fitzgerald said he did not believe that a large part of the Republican party, or of the thinkers of the Republican party, ever had any other idea in their head. I must respectfully differ from him; I have heard some of them talk—some gentlemen who consider themselves a very large part of the Republican party,—and they have the idea that the Filipino people either will not want independence at some indefinite time in the future, or will not get it, if they do. In other words, in twenty, thirty, or forty years these five issues which we are discussing will be past history. How many discussions would we have on this subject if forty or fifty years shall pass without the Filipino people being granted complete independence? If any such time must pass, the Filipinos will never get independence. That is why any policy looking toward

the indefinite retention of the Islands, coupled with the assertion that *some day* they will get independence, is bound to be more or less hypocritical. It cannot be sincere. If they are to have their independence and be given a fair trial at being an independent nation under whatever guarantees are deemed necessary or convenient, they must have it sometime within the life of the present generation. It is perfectly useless to speak about letting generations pass, and then giving them independence. It would be very much better for the American people, as well as for the Filipinos, if that is to be the policy, to say right now that they shall never have it. But I take it that what the American people really want, if they can find the way, is to be perfectly sincere and fair toward this situation. I believe that, irrespective of party ties, that is what most Americans wish to be, and I believe that a step in this direction has been taken by the passage of the Jones bill. When it is passed by the Senate, I will feel like saying that a long step has been taken; and I still hope to see, before my memory and eyesight grow too dim, the passage of a bill which shall grant to the Filipino people free and full independence, with such assistance and cooperation as may be asked by them of our Government and as we may feel it to our interest to give to them. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON, Resident Commissioner in Congress from the Philippine Islands.

A FILIPINO VIEW OF THE JONES BILL

ADDRESS BY HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON

I consider it a great privilege to be here tonight and to partake as one of the speakers in the proceedings of this conference.

Inasmuch as this is the first time in many years that a duly authorized spokesman of the Filipino people addresses you, it is appropriate that he should voice the heart-felt sense of gratitude that the people of the Philippine Islands entertain for that great soul, that noble spirit, the late Mr. Smiley, whose high regard for our welfare was shown by the fact that he selected as one of the important topics of this conference the problem confronting the United States in our far distant country. (Applause.)

First, let me speak of the administration of Governor Harrison. Governor-General Harrison has been now in the Philippine Islands one full year and has accomplished something that had been done by none of his predecessors in any thing like so full a measure—he has gained for himself and for the nation he represents the confidence and good will of the Filipino people. (Applause.) Nevertheless the policies of Governor Harrison have been criticized and denounced, notwithstanding that those very policies have for the

first time since the American occupation of the Islands produced better understanding, more kindly appreciation on the part of the Filipino people of the purposes of the United States in assuming sovereignty over the archipelago. Why should the Governor be criticised on this score? Can it be the desire of the American people to prevent the Filipinos from becoming reconciled to their presence? Is it not the paramount duty of every American in the Islands to do his share to bring about more cordial relations between the inhabitants of that country and the Insular Government?

Governor Harrison did not go to the Philippines as a Democrat. He went as the representative of the American people, feeling as strongly as the most patriotic American could feel that it was his duty to help in redeeming the pledges of his country, and that as governor-general it was his privilege no less than his obligation to give the Islands an administration that would be founded on generosity, wisdom, justice and the principles of self-government. The governor gave us an administration of that kind and he found a ready response on the part of the Filipino people. How has he been repaid by his countrymen in the Philippines? He has been accused by some of disorganizing the service and of resorting to the methods of a ward politician. It would not have been at all surprising had the Governor-General taken with him to the Islands a select few of his old political associates upon whom he was accustomed to depend. He is the first governor-general of the Philippines, who, before going to the Islands, was a member of the House of Representatives. There must be many men who have worked shoulder to shoulder with Governor Harrison in his public career and some of them, at least, may have expected that he would remember their work when he was appointed to the most powerful position next to the presidency of the United States that an American citizen can now hold. And yet, Governor Harrison has not given a single post to any one of his old political friends. He has made some changes in the personnel of the Philippine Government, but in every instance the change was made in the interest of the public service. It is due to him, it is due to you, as Americans—and it is a matter of obvious justice and decency that the detractors of the Governor should once for all be told that they are either mistaken or are wilfully misrepresenting the Governor's administration.

Now, as to the Jones bill. One important end is accomplished by this bill. It will settle in the only practical and possible way the controversy regarding the capacity of the Filipino people for self-government. The bill is so framed that, while the Filipinos will have ample opportunity to demonstrate their wisdom and patriotism, the powers reserved to the United States are sufficient to prevent, in case of a failure in this test, any serious harm to the

people of the Islands themselves or to the United States. For this reason alone, if for no other, this bill should have the unanimous support of every American who in good faith believes that no governmental power should be withheld from the Filipinos that they can properly exercise. And in like manner, those who assert that we are incapable of governing ourselves ought to welcome the proposed test as much as we, who allege that we are fully capable of self-government, because it will show at once who is right. If they are correct in their views, the fact will be plainly demonstrated and the control of the Philippine Government will be transferred to wiser men. If we are correct, a wrong which has already lasted too long will be righted.

What I have said relates chiefly to the administrative features of the bill. As to its preamble* I have to say: It is the one feature that with very few exceptions has incurred strong opposition from the Republican members of the House of Representatives. Many reasons for this opposition were assigned. Some have called the preamble meaningless; all have asserted that it was not legally a part of the bill. If it be in fact meaningless, I see no reason why there should be serious objection to it. At the very worst, it would do no harm. Why not let it stand since it is urgently desired by the Filipino people and it will make them happy? Another form of opposition to the preamble was voiced by those who while asserting that they believe in Philippine independence, yet contend that the time has not arrived when the Filipino people should be granted independence. It is the opinion of those who expressed such views that the preamble is misleading because it holds out to the Filipinos a hope for early independence that will not be realized and will therefore cause disappointment and dissatisfaction. For this reason they have said the preamble should be voted down. My answer to the proponents of this view is simple: The preamble does not promise either immediate or remote independence. It sets forth no definite date; it requires a condition upon whose fulfillment independence shall be granted, regardless of the time taken in bringing about such a condition. The preamble plainly states that this independence is to follow as soon as a stable government shall have been established in the Islands. The language is abundantly clear and no one who possesses any conception of government will be misled thereby. The Filipinos know what stability in government means. If the preamble be voted down, that fact in itself will cause the disappointment and discontent now feared by those who advocate the view I am discussing. They can place but one construction upon such action on the part of Congress; namely, that the promise of independence made by every president of the United States from and including President McKinley to and including President Wilson has been

*For copy of the preamble see page 151.

repudiated. Nothing that could be done by the United States would have the dreadful effect of destroying the confidence of the Filipino people as would such repudiation.

The Filipino people will be the more warranted in construing the defeat of the preamble as sure evidence that the permanent annexation of the Philippines as a colony of the United States is intended, by the fact that there had been several speakers on the Republican side of the House who during the discussion of the Jones bill frankly advocated the policy of permanent retention of the Philippine Islands. Notable among those who spoke to this purpose is the leader of the minority himself, Mr. Mann. I need not tell you the nature of Mr. Mann's suggestion, because his speech was printed in every metropolitan newspaper and was indorsed, so far as it referred to the permanent retention of the Islands, by the majority of the strongest journals of this country. Mr. Mann's policy is new, is revolutionary from the standpoint of the American people. Aside from the fact that it would reverse the Philippine independence policy put forward by McKinley, continued by Roosevelt and Taft and reiterated by Wilson, it would commit the United States frankly to a policy of imperialism wholly inconsistent with the basic principle upon which this Republic is founded.

But I shall not undertake to go into this aspect of Mr. Mann's policy. What I am interested in combatting from this platform is the illusion of Mr. Mann that you can repudiate your early pledge of independence by voting down the preamble to the Jones bill, and at the same time make the Filipino people your friends by granting them autonomous government in so far as their domestic affairs are concerned, thereby weaning these people from their desire for independence. The Filipino people do want and do urge independence of the United States now. I think they will always and forever want and urge independence. I am, however, dispassionate enough to admit a possibility that I may be wrong in his last prediction and that Mr. Mann may be right. But if the Filipino people are ever to prefer American sovereignty to their own, as Mr. Mann forecasts, it will not be when the preamble to the Jones bill has been voted down, but, on the contrary, only on condition that it shall be voted into the bill. If you inform the Filipino people that they shall have none of their so much longed for independence they will the more crave for it. It is another case of forbidden fruit. (Laughter and applause.)

But further, there is this other important reason. The Filipino people are now on the road toward their freedom. You have allowed them to take some first steps even at the time when their subjugation by military force had just been accomplished. The Bill of Rights is now as much a privilege of Philippine citizenship as is of American citizenship. You have given them an elective assembly and you propose, and Mr. Mann proposes, that they be

given more and larger governmental powers. The progress toward freedom never stops when once begun until it reaches its culmination. The Filipino people will never be satisfied with any concession from the United States short of their complete freedom as a people. Such being the case, they will not be satisfied until you shall have placed in their own hands the decision whether or not they shall be politically independent from the United States. The theory that a nation may be dependent upon another and yet be free holds true only when such dependence has been brought about with the consent, and by the free accord of the dependency. No matter how much of individual liberty or of self-government in domestic affairs a people may have, that people if subject to another not by reason of its own will but by sheer power of the latter so that the local government they possess is merely a concession on the part of the sovereign, such a people is not free in fact or in theory. The Filipino people can truly be free under American sovereignty only if this nation shall say to them: "You may be an independent nation if you choose, or you may retain a political relationship with us, if you prefer. In either case you will have your own autonomous government with such a constitution as you yourself shall establish, and we shall claim no power to deprive you of either, the limitations of your autonomy being those only that are necessary for the exercise of our sovereignty in your international affairs." When the people of the Islands shall have obtained all those rights that belong to them by grace of God as a nation and a people, they may decide to remain beneath the American flag and to prove Mr. Mann a true prophet, but never otherwise.

I beg that this conference lend its valuable cooperation to the furtherance of the Jones bill, including in such support both the administrative provisions of the bill and its preamble. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The platform of the conference will now be presented by DR. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, formerly Commissioner of Education of the United States, and at present Chancellor of New York University.

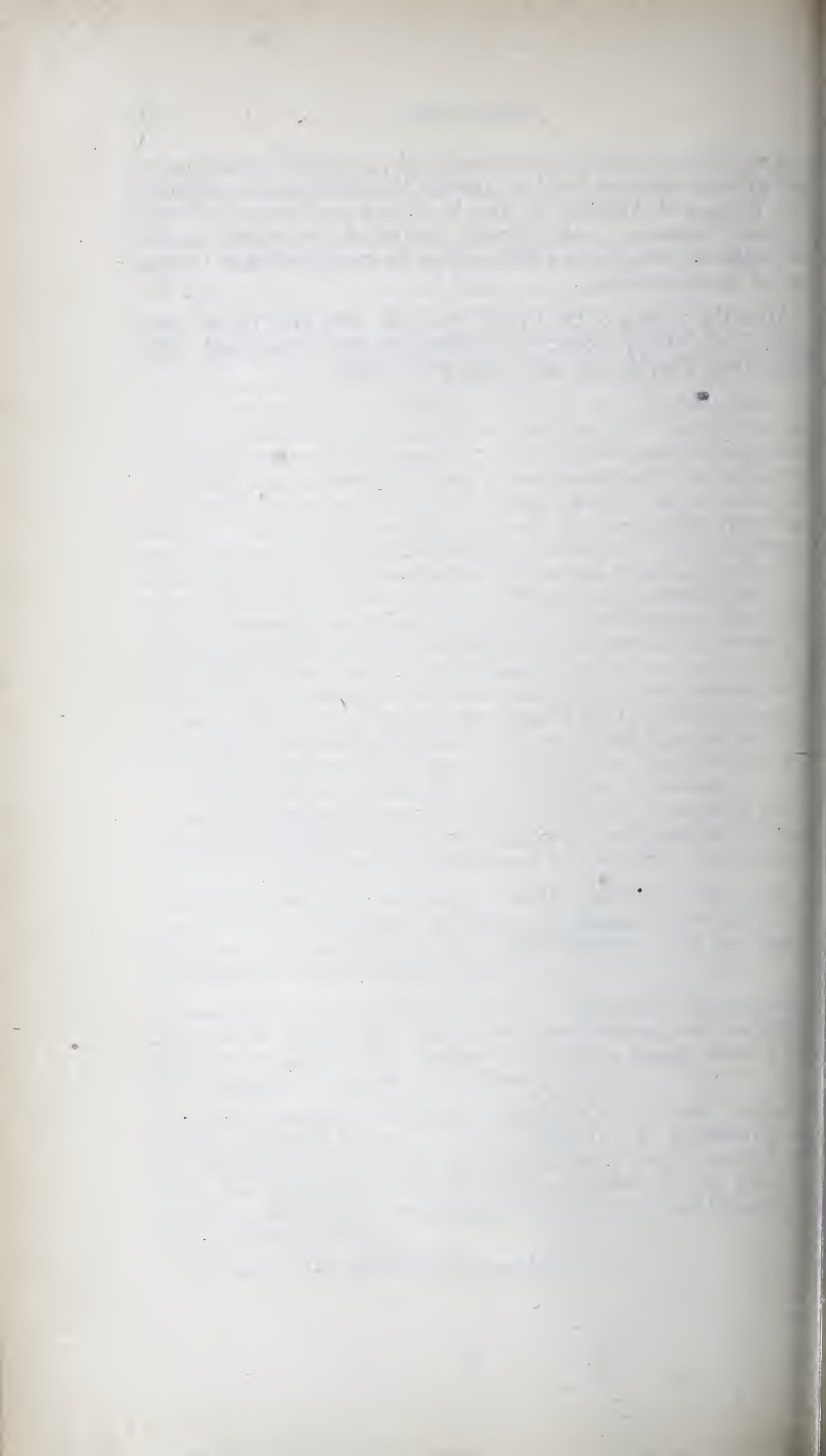
ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, LL. D.: Following the long-time precedent of this Conference the platform committee has undertaken to present in the platform only those things upon which the Conference is united. (Applause)

After DR. BROWN had read the platform, there was discussion by HON. GEORGE VAUX, JR., PROF. WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD and MR. GEORGE H. FAIRCHILD, the latter offering a slight amendment which was accepted by Dr. Brown, on behalf of the Platform Committee, and by the Conference. The platform was then adopted by a unanimous vote.

(For copy of the Platform, see page 7)

A resolution of thanks, presented to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley on behalf of the conference by Hon. George Vaux, Jr. and seconded by Dr. William H. McElroy of New York, was unanimously adopted by the Conference. Mr. Smiley responded by expressing appreciation to the officers and members for contributing to the success of the conference.

After the singing of the hymn, "God be with you 'till we meet again," the thirty-second Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples was adjourned without day.



MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE THIRTY-SECOND CONFERENCE

The asterisk (*) following the name of a gentleman indicates that he was accompanied by his wife.

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